

JPRS 77431

20 February 1981

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1103

FBIS

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

Terrorist Activities in Capitalist Countries Analyzed
(Lionel' Yakovlevich Dadiani, Svetozar Aleksandrovich
Efirov; RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, Nov-Dec 80)..... 1

REGIONAL

Solomentsev Stresses Ideological Duties of Artists, Writers
(M. S. Solomentsev; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 7 Dec 80;
PRAVDA, 10 Dec 80) 16

Speech to Artists Union Board
Speech to RSFSR Writers Congress

Lithuanian Party Official Discusses Republic's Economy
(P. Grishkyavichus, PLANOVYE KHOZYAISTVO, Nov 80)..... 30

Academics Urge Further Development of Siberian Agriculture
(B. Boyev, Yu. Novoselevo; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 5 Dec 80).. 42

INTERNATIONAL

TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ANALYZED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 80 signed to press 11 Nov 80 pp 54-61

[Article by Lionel' Yakovlevich Dadiani, candidate of legal sciences, assistant professor, sector chief, Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences, and Svetozar Aleksandrovich Efirov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, senior scientific associate, Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences: "Modern 'Leftist' Terrorism: Myth and Reality"]

[Text] In recent years in a number of capitalist countries, as well as several of the developing states, there has been an intensification of the terroristic activities of various extremist groups.

In his speech at a solemn session in Moscow that was devoted to the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, CPSU Central Committee Secretary B. N. Ponomarev described the critical processes that became intensified in the capitalistic world during the 1970's and mentioned among other manifestations of that crisis the "rampant spread of terrorism."

In a few places that phenomenon has become a problem both for the state agencies and bourgeois parties, and for the workers and general democratic movement. The attempt of the terrorists to create a situation of social chaos, to weaken and disorganize the democratic forces, primarily the communist parties, and to incite civil war and the establishment of authoritarian, neofascist regimes is of indisputable danger for a number of countries. The demagogic of the terroristic organizations with their frantic anticommunism, concealed by expatiations concerning the establishment of "order" on the part of the rightist terrorists, or by pseudo-Marxist "orthodoxy" on the part of the "leftists," is having a definite effect upon certain groups of the public in the capitalist countries.

A study of the nature and prospects for the present-day terroristic "boom" in the bourgeois world is therefore not only of theoretical importance, but also of practical importance. And yet this question that is being considered is one which, as a whole, remains greatly unstudied so far. True, these problems are attracting more and more attention on the part of the press and the scientists in various areas of specialization in the West. Nor has there been a shortage of studies carried out by various state agencies and private organizations in the

capitalist countries. However, the bourgeois research projects, while frequently containing interesting factual information and judgments, do not so much promote as hinder the penetration into the essence of the problem to be considered. As a rule, they are of a superficial, sensational, and pseudoscientific nature and abound in hypotheses and conjectures of a dubious nature, and sometimes also in fantastic forecasts that depict, for example, the world of the future as being under the heel of terror. As a rule, these studies treat in an extremely distorted light the political meaning and goals of terrorism, its ties, and its concealed springs. Rightist, Maoist, and Trotzkiyite authors attempt to use the phenomenon of terrorism in the interests of anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda.

Let us direct our attention to the circumstance that both the apocalyptic "prophets" who fantasize in the spirit of the anti-Utopias that are fashionable in the West and the "moderate" bourgeois authors, as a rule, are united in the opinion that by the near future terrorism can become a serious threat in certain countries. These warnings, although they frequently acquire distorted and hypertrophied forms, are apparently a symptom of a completely real threat. During the era of the NTR [scientific-technical revolution] and modern means of mass annihilation, there is extreme danger in any irresponsible handling of weaponry or in any adventuristic military plans, as are typical, or even inherent, in all forms of terrorism.

The principles of the scientific approach and evaluation of the problem of political terrorism were set down by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, who analyzed its "classic" forms. V. I. Lenin revealed the true role of terrorism in the revolutionary movement, and pointed out the illusory nature of the romantic myths of the members of the Narodnaya Volya and the pseudorevolutionary nature of the political practice of the Socialist Revolutionaries. He emphasized that terror, as a rule, disorganizes "not the governmental, but the revolutionary forces"¹. Speaking about the members of the Narodnaya Volya, V. I. Lenin noted that "they failed to achieve, and could not achieve, their immediate goal, the awakening of a popular revolution"². Mercilessly criticizing the adventurism and terroristic practices of the Socialist Revolutionaries, V. I. Lenin wrote that "without the working people, all bombs are ineffective, and are known to be ineffecti^{ve}"³.

Present-day "leftist" terrorism, which this article will deal with primarily, takes its origin from various forms of ultraleftist terrorism in past times, and partially from the "leftist" radicalist movements of the 1960's, being a product of their polarization and disintegration. Unlike the situation in the past, in certain bourgeois countries terrorism has currently been converted into something resembling a true social movement. Terroristic activity currently is not so much the carrying out of individual, separate assassinations as it is the carrying out of a series of diverse subversive actions, behind which one can discern a long-term plan directed against an extremely wide circle of persons and objectives.

Terroristic measures currently are carefully prepared, lavishly financed, and are carried out frequently by completely "professional," well organized, mobile groups. Assassinations, serious woundings, cases of arson, kidnappings, blackmail, the seizing of hostages, the highjacking of aircraft, political provocations, explosions in the streets, in institutions, at railroad stations, enterprises, in means of transportation, barracks, police stations, and buildings housing

editorial offices and the party committees of various parties, and attacks upon radio stations and the electrical-power-supply system have become rather frequent phenomena in several capitalist countries. The persons whose lives are threatened nowadays are not only highly placed governmental and political figures, but also businessmen, military men, policemen, officials, judges, and prosecutors, and party and trade-union figures. The victims of the terrorists include a large number of workers and minor employees.

There has been a sharp increase in the number of completely random victims. The largest number of terroristic acts in recent years have been carried out in Italy and Turkey. The number of their victims in those countries during the past three years runs into the thousands. For example, in Turkey, during the two-year period before the military coup, more than 5000 persons were killed and more than 14,000 were injured. From the middle of the 1960's and the early 1970's, various forms of terrorism have also encompassed, to one degree or another, many countries in Latin America, Spain, the United States, Japan, West Germany, West Berlin, Northern Ireland, England, Portugal, France, Greece, certain Arab countries, India, Iran, and the Philippines. The most barbaric forms of terrorism are inspired by the forces of international reaction, headed by the United States and with the most active participation of Pakistan, the Maoists, and the Sadatists in Afghanistan.

A problem that is of fundamental importance is the problem of the typology of modern terrorism. This problem represents definite difficulties by virtue of the fact that it is a phenomenon that frequently does not have sufficiently clear-cut boundaries and cannot always be isolated easily from certain other types of activity carried out by the bourgeois states or the insurgent groupings. In addition, frequently -- and, in recent years, as a rule -- it is very difficult or even actually impossible to make any more or less clear-cut differentiation between certain forms of ultraleftist and neofascist terrorism. The difficulties of defining and classifying modern terrorism provide a kind of chink through which certain political circles can mix up completely different, and frequently completely opposing, phenomena, for example, of terrorism and certain specific forms of the antifascist and national-liberation struggle. And yet V. I. Lenin particularly noted, as long ago as 1906, that one cannot "call anarchism, Blanquism, terrorism" the activities of the Latvian revolutionary partisans and combat squads "because one can see clearly here the link between the new form of struggle and the uprising. . ."⁴ Disregarding the complicated and confused problem of definitions, let us attempt to set down the basic types of modern terrorism. First, there is institutionalized terrorism at a governmental level, that is, the terroristic activities of the bourgeois state agencies and the organizations that are supported or inspired by them. This state terror is typical primarily of the dictatorships of the fascist and neofascist type, as well as the pseudoleftist totalitarian dictatorships of the type of Maoist China, the regime of the Beijing agent Pol Pot in Kampuchea or the American agent K. Amin in Afghanistan. Bourgeois-democratic states also resort frequently to terroristic methods. In general it can be stated that within the very nature of the bourgeois state there lie repressive-terroristic tendencies which that state actualizes under definite conditions. This type of terrorism (in which state agencies such as the CIA, FBI, Savak, Mossad, Shin-Beth, etc. take part) includes terroristic actions by the extreme rightist forces in the United States and in certain Latin American countries, and the terroristic activities of the agents of Israeli intelligence and various extremist Zionist groupings against progressive Arab figures and representatives of the socialist

countries. Closely related to this type of terrorism is the ultrarightist terrorism which does not have any direct state support. This type of terrorism is widespread in a number of countries and reached unprecedented scope, for example, in Turkey. In 1980, ultrarightists carried out very large terroristic acts in Western Europe (in Bologna, Munich, and Paris).

In recent years the type of terrorism that has moved into the forefront, or is moving into the forefront, in certain countries has been ultraleftist terrorism, which also is directed against bourgeois-democratic institutions, but primarily against the parties and organizations of the workers movement.

The next type of terrorism, which also has been extremely active in recent time, is that represented by the actions taken by nationalistic-separatist groupings. These include, for example, the activities of certain Basque separatist organizations (primarily the ETA organization), the "provisional wing" of the Irish Republican Army, the Breton and Corsican separatists in France, etc. This form of terrorism, undoubtedly, provides the greatest difficulties for analysis, inasmuch as the activities of such groupings sometimes embody the definite, completely lawful yearnings of national minorities that are being discriminated against. On the other hand, the extremist methods used by these organizations are extremely dangerous: they not only lead to senseless victims, but also play into the hands of the reactionary forces. Separatist terrorism is sometimes inspired by foreign reactionary forces. This pertains, for example, to the subversive activities of the separatist gangs in the border regions of India and Burma which are directed by Maoist China.

Finally, there exists an additional phenomenon which, while outwardly bearing a certain similarity to some of the previously mentioned forms of terroristic activities, is such that the use of the term "terrorism" with regard to it is completely unjustified. We have in mind specific forms of the national-liberation and antifascist struggle, when, by virtue of especially difficult conditions, use is made of individual armed actions against imperialistic colonizers, the representatives of the ruling classes, and their lackeys. Under favorable conditions these forms of the struggle grow into an armed popular struggle on a broad scale, as occurred, for example, in a number of African, Asian, and Latin American countries.

These forms of the national-liberation struggle are mentioned here because, when speculating on the purely external similarity, bourgeois ideologists and politicians show a particular eagerness to confuse phenomena which belong to absolutely different categories, and to qualify them equally as "terrorism." Very often they equate the terroristic activities of such organizations as the "Red Army fraction" (RAF), the "red brigades," the ultrarightist "gray wolves" group in Turkey, etc., with the armed struggle being waged by the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and, in the recent past, also the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, etc. The striving of bourgeois politicians to qualify the liberation struggle as terrorism always served as an obstacle for the adoption of an effective antiterroristic program by the United Nations.

The present-day escalation of terrorism in a number of capitalist countries is one of the consequences of the new aggravation of the overall crisis of the bourgeois

system, which crisis began in the 1970's. During that period there was a sharp worsening of the condition of the masses of the people in the capitalist world; a considerable increase in the number of unemployed and other categories of "outcasts" that provide a nutritional medium for the growth of extremist moods; the myths of "depression-free" development of capitalism, of class reconciliation and integration, etc. were shattered. The social base of modern terrorism is not completely homogeneous in various countries. In Italy and Turkey that base is noticeably broader than, say, in West Germany. In Northern Ireland and Spain the nationalistic-separatist elements predominate in that base. But, as a whole, the social base of the terroristic movement is defined by the following components.

First, there are certain petty-bourgeois segments, and some of the student and intellectual class. Extremist moods in these groups are stimulated by the increase in unemployment, which is especially considerable among young people, by the crisis in the higher-educational system, by the fact that there has been a lowering in the capitalist countries of the status pertaining to most of the intellectual professions, the leveling off and standardization of those professions, and the conversion of the bulk of the intellectual class into a faceless and voiceless element of the state-monopoly machine.

The hatred of the communist and workers movement, as well as the satiety with and aversion toward the "consumer civilization," lead into the ranks of the terroristic organizations -- particularly the ultraleftist ones -- also those individuals who come from families in the middle and upper bourgeoisie. Everyone knows, for example, the story of the daughter of the American millionaire Hearst, who took part in actions carried out by one of the American "leftist" terroristic groups. A number of leaders of West German and Italian terrorists (U. Mainhof, R. Curcio, A. Negri, etc.) come from families with a religious background.

Finally, another basic component of the social base of terrorism is the existence of various declassed elements, of which there is an especially large number on the fringes of the major capitalist cities. The processes of formation of a "Lumpenproletariat" on a mass scale, the processes of "marginalization," are extremely typical of the present stage of the crisis in the capitalist system (and they are processes which affect not only the lowest classes of society, but also certain segments of the intellectual class), lead to the creation, deep down inside the bourgeois social structure, of a kind of sociocultural "ghetto," the inhabitants of which, deprived of their "roots," devastated, and realizing that they have been rejected from society, are enthralled by despair and blind rage and have a tendency to seek extreme means and "immediate solutions."

The proletariat, for the most part, has a sharply negative attitude toward terrorism, and the constant appeals made to the proletariat by the ultraleftist organizations and all their attempts to penetrate into its ranks invariably suffer defeat. The failure of these attempts was well demonstrated, for example, in the book *Terrorism at Enterprises*, which was published in 1978 in Italy. That book contains interviews with workers and employees at several of the country's largest plants. "Extremism," one of the interviewed workers said, "in essence has remained a phenomenon that is alien to the enterprise, a product of import. . . It has never succeeded in establishing roots here"⁵.

However, "leftist" terrorism finds some of its personnel among the most backward segments of the working class. Such persons are encountered not only among ordinary members of the terrorist organizations of such countries as Turkey, Italy, and Spain, but even are sometimes part of their leadership (for example, they are among the so-called "historical leaders" of the "Red brigades"). Something that deserves attention is the fact of the dual or indifferent attitude that some of the workers take toward terrorism, as was noted, in particular, by one of the leaders of the All-Italian Conference of Labor, B. Trentin. He wrote that among the industrial workers there exist groups that have a tolerant attitude toward terrorists as being "erring comrades," and broader segments, which occupy neutralist positions, [and] that the sociopolitical program and practice of the "leftist" terrorists evokes a certain amount of sympathy on the part of adherents to the "old methods of revolutionary argumentation"⁶. At the same time, in West Germany, for example, among the terrorists and those that sympathize with them, there are practically no representatives of the proletariat. As a whole, "leftist" extremism in all its varieties is a petty-bourgeois phenomenon.

In the age structure of terrorism, there is an absolute predominance of youth. The difficult situation of a considerable number of young people, undoubtedly, is one of the chief reasons for the increase in capitalist countries of all types of violence -- from crime to political terrorism. The desperate young people, deprived of work or any prospects for the future, feel that they have been deceived and are alienated and "surplus." Some of them, failing to understand or failing to accept those forms of struggle and activities which are being carried out by the organized workers movement -- the communist and social-democratic movement -- get the idea that universal negation and violence are the only acceptable form of existence. Among the social and psychological components that make the terroristic acts attractive in the eyes of certain people -- especially among definite groups of young people -- one should mention also the aura of heroically romantic mysteriousness that sometimes surrounds the twilight world of terrorism, as well as the ultrarevolutionary phraseology and especially the illusory "status" that is attached to that activity. People who have been thrown overboard by bourgeois society, people whom that society has kept from attaining a prestigious position, or those persons who themselves reject or disdain bourgeois values, are provided by terroristic activity with the illusions of being "important," of finding some meaning for their existence. They convince themselves that they have finally found a job that is important and beneficial for society, but they fail to understand that terrorism is not only distracting them from a genuinely revolutionary struggle, but is also a weapon used by the forces of reaction. The question of what is forcing some of the young people -- not only the deprived ones but also those who are extremely well-off -- to take up arms is currently racking the brains of hundreds of Western researchers. The key to the riddle is being sought in heredity, in Freudian complexes, in the devaluation of the moral values of the "consumer society," in certain traditions of religious and political fanaticism, etc. The "learned men" and bourgeois state and political figures are incapable of understanding that this is one of the organic consequences of the overall crisis of the entire bourgeois system.

When speaking about the composition of the terrorist groupings, one should also note the considerable participation of women in them. Certain researchers even hypothesize that at the present time, for example, in West Germany, more than two-thirds of the terrorists are women. Some of the terroristic acts in recent time

(for example, the kidnapping of terrorist G. Meyer from a West Berlin prison) are carried out by groups that consist entirely or chiefly of women. The reason for what appears at first glance to be a paradoxical phenomenon lies, apparently, in the fact that in the modern bourgeois world, in addition to the general causes that engender extremist moods, in addition to the causes that are linked with the emotional and psychological specifics of woman's nature, there also exist a number of special circumstances that encourage the participation of certain women in terroristic acts. The status of many categories and groups of women in the capitalist countries is especially difficult and a definite number of women seek a way out in the ultraradicalism of various shadings.

All the researchers who study the problem of terrorism inevitably face the question: what are the prospects for the development of terrorism in the worsening social and economic situation of the capitalist world? In the book that was recently published in the United States, *Terrorism: Theory and Practice* (one of the editors of which is I. Alexander, director of the Institute for the Study of International Terrorism, at New York University, and the editor in chief of the magazine *TERRORISM*), the hypothesis is expressed that the conditions that give rise to terroristic actions will become even more complicated in the future. Most of the states, the book says, are incapable of putting an end to terrorism, inasmuch as they are losing the fight against the disappointment of their citizens and they cannot create a situation in which the reproduction of terrorism could not occur. The conclusion reached by the authors of the book is unambiguous: "The fact that terrorism will grow under these conditions is, obviously, inevitable"⁷.

Modern terrorism has not only social causes, but also profound political ones. In order to understand the true essence of the current "leftist" terrorism, a telling feature is its proximity to neofascist terrorism. They are united by the commonality of the social base and the organizational structure, as well as the sociopsychological and a number of ideological dominants. Both varieties of terrorism are typified by violent anticomunism, the cult of violence and war, fanaticism and antidemocratism, and disdain for the masses of the people, a disdain that is disguised by flirting with them. Both the neofascists and the "leftists" consider their opponents to be both the bourgeois-democratic states, and the communist parties and trade unions. They strive to create an atmosphere of tension and chaos, to unleash a civil war, and to establish a totalitarian dictatorship.

Recently, in certain countries, there has been an almost complete cessation of what was at one time an extremely violent hatred between the ultrarightist and ultraleftist terrorist organizations. In statements made by certain ultraleftist and neofascist leaders one began to see the infiltration of the idea that the organizations had more things in common than they had differences. And a few people even began to raise the question of uniting their efforts, at least at the particular stage. For example, the Spanish neofascist J. T. Blasco says that between the ultrarightist and ultraleftist groupings there exists complete mutual understanding and they have decided to travel along the same path. An argument which, in his opinion, is an extremely convincing one in favor of this is the proximity of Maoism and Hitlerism. One of the leaders of the Italian Christian Democratic Party, F. Piccoli, stated that the relations between the ultrarightist

and ultraleftist terrorists in Italy are characterized by "silent agreement concerning convergence"⁸. According to reports in the press, there exist in Italy "mixed" groups made up of "red" and "black" terrorists.

In Italy and Turkey, Spain and Iran, many countries of Latin America, Ethiopia, etc., "leftist" terrorists are operating like allies and an actual agent network of the most reactionary forces. "The fascists and Maoists," General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey Ismail Bilen wrote, "maintain among themselves ties that go as far as direct interaction in armed actions. They are united primarily by anti-Sovietism and hatred of the Communist Party of Turkey"⁹.

In the opinion of a number of observers, from the end of the 1960's "leftist" terrorism has been becoming "transnational." In recent years there have been several summit meetings of leaders of the "leftist" terrorist groups. Not only journalists and researchers, but also persons on the level of governmental agencies, have repeatedly expressed hypotheses concerning the extremely close collaboration among the terrorists in West Germany, Italy, Spain, Latin America, and Japan. One cannot overlook a very obvious feature — the uniform "style" of a number of terroristic acts, for example, the kidnapping and murder of G. M. Schleier, A. Moro, and certain others. During the interrogations of one of the leaders and ideologists of Italian terrorism, A. Negri, numerous depositions were made concerning his broad ties with the terroristic organizations in a number of countries. The leaders of the "Red brigades" have repeatedly stated that their activity is "part of the international class combat"¹⁰. At the same time, in the documents of the "Red brigades" concerning integration and the unity of the actions of terroristic organizations on an international scale, the actual topic of discussion is the goal which still has to be achieved. Thus, at the present time, apparently, the unity of the "leftist" terrorist groupings in various countries does not have a constant or solid nature. However, this threat is a completely real one, and it probably contains within itself no less a danger than does the international unification of the neofascist organizations.

Recently we have noted an accumulation of more and more information that attests to the fact that the international "leftist" terrorism, in one way or another, is linked with the intelligence services of a number of imperialistic countries. This hypothesis is supported first of all by the professionalism of many of the terroristic acts¹¹. One's attention is drawn by the excellent material support and the high level of technical equipment of many of the "leftist" terrorist organizations, and their well thought-out and precisely functioning structure. Several of them have their own propaganda apparatus and publish literature and magazines.

The reactionary Western press and its Maoist yes-men regularly disseminate the slander that these subversive organizations are backed up by the intelligence agencies of the USSR and the other socialist countries, which are supposed to be attempting in this manner to strike a blow at "Eurocommunism," and at the same time to "destabilize" the NATO countries. But the real facts attest that looming behind the wings of this terroristic drama looms the spectre of the CIA and the secret services of certain other capitalist countries. It is widely known that Marxist-Leninists fundamentally reject terrorism as a method of political

struggle. It is not socialism, but imperialism, that benefits from the anti-communistic, antipopular, militaristic ideas and plans of the terrorists.

The ideological schemes of the "leftist" extremists have always been typified by their absolute dogmatism, extreme eclecticism, and vulgar over-simplification. Serious attention has not been devoted to unmasking these schemes. This is an erroneous position. In a book on "leftist" terrorism that was recently published in Italy, it is justifiably emphasized that the use against terrorists "of the weapon of silence and disdain does not provide anything. . . It is necessary to fight them, by waging -- including and primarily -- an ideological struggle, by smashing their erroneous ideas, whether they are their own ideas or the ideas of those who admire them"¹².

Present-day "leftist" terrorism and its ideology include two basic branches: the anarchistic and the pseudo-Marxist. This division, of course, is extremely arbitrary, since both trends are constantly intertwined. Their common sources are the ideas of "classical" anarchism and terrorism; Trotskyite and Maoist theories; "leftist" extremist "concepts of revolution" of R. Debré and certain other authors; and a number of ideas of the so-called Frankfurt school and the theoreticians of the "counterculture."

In the concepts and mental set of anarchistic terrorism one finds in its most obvious form the expression of the psychology of the declassed Lumpen and marginal elements. They are typified by complete nihilism, anti-institutionalism, the cult of elemental forces, violence, hatred and dependent hedonism. This variety of terrorism includes primarily the so-called "autonomists." In Italy, groupings of the "workers autonomy" in recent years (especially since 1977) have represented the most numerous segment of the terrorists. Operating as a semi-underground, semilegal group, they engage not only in terroristic acts, but also in the organization of all kinds of provocative sorties, acts of arson, conflicts with the police, disruptions of workers' demonstrations, beatings of Communist workers and trade-union activists, etc. The "autonomists" are one of the basic sources of personnel for the underground terrorist groups of the "Red brigade," "first line," and other types. Recently the "workers autonomy" groupings have also become more active in France.

Like "leftist" terrorism as a whole, "workers autonomy" does not have any roots among the working class. The "autonomists" occupy the positions of Lumpen non-acceptance of everything that exists. They reject everything -- the state as such; politics and the political struggle; all parties; culture; moral and social norms; organization; theory; etc. "Workers autonomy" is primarily "autonomy" from the communist parties, the trade unions, and in general the organized workers movement. In the varicolored mosaic of the "autonomist" positions one can discern the greatest tendency to elemental forces among the French "autonomists," whose slogan is "Don't let them drown the uprising in theory"¹³.

Expressing the Lumpen lack of desire to work, the "autonomists," in the spirit of "countercultural" traditions, come out against the "labor ethic," and in favor of "liberation from labor," combined with extreme consumer maximalism. These -- pardon the expression! -- ideals, combined with hostility to any organizational forms of the workers' struggle, aggravate the devastation that is typical of the "autonomists," and their striving to "destroy" everything around them.

The extreme forms of spontaneous anarchism and rejection of theory are typical of the basically unorganized "autonomist" groups. In addition to them, there exists in Italy the so-called "organized autonomy," which strives to mollify somewhat the extreme actions of anarchism, spontaneism, and "atheoretism." All this takes on a conceptualized, sometimes pseudo-Marxist, coloration here.

The concepts of the theoretician of this variety of "autonomism," A. Negri, which are clothed in an extremely complicated, esoteric form that aspires to the traditions of German classic philosophy or even higher, to existentialism, are extremely primitive. By eliminating the objective laws of historical development, and determinism, he preaches voluntaristic subjectivism. According to Negri's nihilistic concepts, in future society nothing must be preserved from the previous stages. "Socialism," this "theoretician" wrote, "is not, and cannot in any way be, a stage or transition toward communism. Socialism is the highest form of the economic rationality of capital"¹⁴. Negri also views communist society in a completely absurd, slanderous way. "The creation of communism," he says, "is an antagonistic and subjective process of annihilation of labor. Communism is the annihilation of capitalism in all relations. It is not labor"¹⁵. The path to this "communism" lies only through violence¹⁶.

The violent "revolutionary" process, in Negri's opinion, is already occurring. Unlike the treatment of this process as a series of "direct blows to the heart of the state" (such is the program of the "Red brigades," whom the leaders of the "autonomists" accuse of sectarianism, ultracentrism, and ultramilitarism), the "autonomists" speak out in favor of the armed struggle, accompanied by the "honing" of the system in the social and production spheres. This struggle, according to their theory, should be waged by the working class without any allies (this is "autonomy"!). But that "working class" i.e. a very unusual. The predominant place in it is occupied by the so-called "social worker" -- the "sole force," in A. Negri's words, "the newly born proletariat in capitalist society"¹⁷. "The social worker," in Negri's words, "is a lumpen, a representative of the so-called 'new working class,'" that is, a person who has only recently joined the ranks of the proletariat, as well as the semi-unemployed person, the "autonomist" student, the participant in the feminist movement, etc.

Thus, Negri's nihilism extends completely also to the working class, to which he, in the spirit of Marcusianism, opposed its most backward element, the lumpen, and certain petty-bourgeois groups. This nihilism acquires truly "ecumenical" scope and an especially dangerous nature when Negri links the completion of the "revolutionary" process with the Third World War which he considers to be inevitable. Negri also views in the spirit of Maoism the "postrevolutionary period," viewing it as a period of permanent "cultural revolution."

The terrorist groupings of the "Red brigade" type strive, as a rule, to disassociate themselves from the most odious extremities perpetrated by their anarchistic colleagues. In their statements and "strategic resolutions" they constantly expatiate concerning the necessity of creating a "combat party," a clear political line, iron-clad discipline, and reject in word "autonomist" irrationalism and spontaneism.

However, the political and ideological discrepancies among the various groups of "leftist" terrorists are of completely secondary importance. It is possible

that this is, in part, simply mimicry. All the varieties of ultraleftist terrorism are united in their anticomunism, although it frequently is disguised by pseudo-communist slogans, and also in their antidemocracy, in the striving to use violent means to force upon the masses their pernicious political-ideological and tactical schemes, to disorganize the democratic forces, and to destroy the social gains of the workers.

The overall fundamental ideological principle of the terrorists is the maximum mythologizing of reality, the creation of a completely distorted picture of the modern world, a picture that, in essence, has nothing in common with its actual problems and contradictions, but which, on the other hand, is convenient for justifying the practice of terror. By bringing to the point of complete absurdity the criticism of the sins of the state-monopoly system, and by ignoring or negating the achievements of real socialism and the international communist and workers movement, the terrorists live in a world that they have invented. This world of fantasy looks as though it consists only of Pinochet's Chile, Duvalier's Haiti, or other regions of the type of Hitlerite Germany. The terrorists do not see any difference between fascism and bourgeois democracy, which Negri has declared to be "a terrible form of new fascism"¹⁸.

Of course, a bourgeois state, by its very nature, is antipopular and repressive, but with the present correlation of forces in the world, with the existence of a powerful communist and workers movement, this repressive nature can manifest itself broadly and openly in far from all places and at far from all times. In this situation, the ruling circles in a few places, as it were, transfer to the illegal antistate terrorism some of their functions -- primarily the function of combatting the democratic forces -- which certain of the bourgeois states are no longer capable of carrying out effectively. "The so-called 'red' terrorism," a Fiat worker, for example, stated, "is nothing else but a modern version of capitalist violence, a version that is the most cunning by virtue of its disguised nature and innovation"¹⁹. The underground "leftist" terrorist organizations, despite all their antistate rhetoric, like the neofascist groupings, are proving today to be a disguised weapon of the bourgeois state system.

According to the tactical scheme of the "leftist" terrorists, terror, having evoked counteractions by the authorities, must definitively unmask the punitive, antipopular nature of the capitalist system and, at the same time, demonstrate its ineffectiveness. Even if "leftist" terror leads to an authoritarian coup d'etat, the latter, in their opinion, will awaken the revolutionary potential of the masses and will lead to revolution. Capitalism can be destroyed, in the opinion of the "leftist" extremists, only by violent means, with the aid of the "militarization of the class struggle." Any versions of a "peaceful means" of the revolutionary development are qualified as treason. "Without the practice of the armed struggle," one of the RAF documents states, for example, ". . . keynote statements are twaddle, and proletarian internationalism is hypocrisy"²⁰.

It is obvious that this pseudotheory of the revolutionary process not only has a voluntaristic-adventurist nature and is contrary to the Leninist theory of revolution, but also is clearly provocative, inasmuch as it jeopardizes the workers and general democratic movement. The violence that is preached and practiced by the "leftist" terrorists does not have anything in common with revolutionary

violence, which is justified and necessary when a truly revolutionary situation prevails, as a means of combat by the masses of the people, when there are no other means of eliminating the exploiter system. The violence that is preached by the "leftists" leads not to revolution, but to social chaos with unforeseen and dangerous consequences, to a possible fascist or other rightist coup. Communists constantly emphasize that the ultrarevolutionaristic expatiations of the "leftist" terrorists are simply camouflage, and that their true enemy is the communist and workers movement.

The extremist course is harmful and dangerous in the more general plan also: it is linked with the fanatical idea of warfare, civil and world. "We want a war," state the "leftist" terrorists²¹, assuming that war will help them to carry out their plans. In recent years the terrorists' arsenal has been rapidly supplemented by the most up-to-date types of armament and equipment, including even missiles. In West Germany, the United States, and certain other countries, terrorists have already threatened dozens of times to use weapons of mass destruction. According to a number of researchers, for example, R. Cooperman and D. Trent, the authors of the book *Terrorism: Threat. Reality. Defense*, which was published in the United States in 1979, the situation is not limited to threats. There have already been several instances when highly effective poisonous substances have been used.

A typical feature of modern terrorism is antihumanitarianism, which distinguishes it, for example, from the practice of the members of the Narodnaya Volya, who traveled along a profoundly erroneous path but who, in their day, were typified by high nobility and genuine adherence to humanitarian ideals. The antihumanitarianism of the present-day terrorists takes on especially grotesque forms when the attempt is made to clothe it in pseudohumanitarian and pseudo-orthodox forms. On the occasion of the murder of A. Moro, the leader of the "Red brigades," R. Curcio, solemnly stated, "The act of revolution, on my justice that was carried out with respect to Moro is the highest act of humanitarianism that is possible in this society, which has been divided into classes"²². The antihumanitarianism of the terrorists finds sharp expression not only in their bloody acts of violence, but also in the so-called "proletarian trials" to which they subject certain of their prisoners, and sometimes even their own former adherents. This "trials," with their sophisticated psychological working over of the victim, and their previously decided sentences, are the complete denial of socialist justice. It is, as it were, a fragment of that future which the terrorists would want to force on mankind, since their futurological models are constructed on the basis of Maoist and fascist prototypes.

The "leftist" extremist groupings are very far from the realization of their paranoidal plans. But there exist in the world those forces which are supporting them or are ready to support them. There also are those who sympathize with them, including those whose sympathies are stirred not by evil intent, but by lack of understanding. The gradations of such sympathy are various: from worship of the terrorists as being "true revolutionaries," "heroes," "martyrs to an idea," to taking the attitude toward them as being "erring comrades."

Both these positions are encouraged in every way both by the "leftist" extremist organizations themselves, and by the bourgeois means of mass information, for which terrorism, apart from all other considerations, is an extremely profitable

commercial topic as an item of sensationalism, and which, willingly or unwillingly, create around it an atmosphere of unhealthy hullabaloo, surround it with an aura of heroism, and advertise, and not infrequently even serve, practically speaking, as its mouthpiece²³.

The striving to force something of the nature of a discussion with the terrorists as though they were an "equal" side, in an argument to "understand" (and, consequently, also to "forgive") them, to find some kind of moral "justifications" for their actions, plays into the hands of the terrorists, since it gives them the hope of overcoming their isolation, of acquiring some kind of recognition, of obtaining "legal" status.

The communist and workers parties occupy an irreconcilable position with respect to any forms of terrorism, and reject all attempts at "justifications," "discussions," or "compromises" with the terrorists. By thoroughly revealing the reactionary essence of the pseudorevolutionary "leftist" terrorism and by revealing its social roots, the Communists call upon others to oppose its criminal, barbaric actions by the decisive universal censure and unity of actions of all the democratic forces. The workers' vigilance, the carrying out of progressive socioeconomic and political reforms, which would make it possible to reduce, and in the long run to eliminate, the social base of terrorism -- those are the effective means of combatting all its forms.

For the workers movement in those countries where terrorism exists, it would be extremely dangerous to give in to fatalistic or conciliatory logic. The existence of the social soil for the reproduction of terrorism does not mean that the effective struggle against it is impossible under present conditions. Of course that struggle is a difficult one, since terrorism is an attribute, a symptom, and a result of the present-day stage of the crisis in the capitalist system. The reactionary forces use it for their own purposes, and the extremist moods and actions serve as one of the channels into which to direct the dissatisfaction, despair, and anger of definite social groups, and which, it appears to us, makes it possible to satisfy their striving for social "participation" and "importance." It is extremely difficult to "dam" this channel under the conditions of the capitalist system, which is incapable of overcoming critical situations, unemployment, "marginalization," the sociopsychological climate of alienation, and incapable of giving people any constructive ideals. But one can scarcely doubt that the present-day workers movement and all the democratic forces, coming forward decisively and as a united front, are capable of establishing an insurmountable obstacle on the path of any terroristic threat.

It should be noted that at the 14th Congress of the Socialist International (November 1978), the question of terrorism was the subject of special discussion within the framework of the question of defending human rights in the capitalist countries²⁴.

"Terrorist actions and adventures," the German Communist Party emphasizes, "are directed against the interests of the workers movement, against the necessary struggle of the workers for their interests, democracy, and social progress. They are used, as has been indicated by history and the events of recent time, by the most vicious enemies of the workers and democracy. . . for the purpose of agitating even more actively against those who criticize the practice of the hunt for profits

by large-scale capital, who criticize the unjust attitudes of authority and property in our country, who speak out in favor of participation in the administration of public affairs and the rights of the workers. We decisively reject all attempts to discredit the democrats and socialists as being potential allies of terror"²⁵.

Of course terrorism is far from being the principal danger among those that are threatening mankind today. The present-day era cannot be characterized as the "era of terror," as certain Western commentators attempt to do. Such characterizations are not only an exaggeration of the terroristic threat, but also a failure to understand the fact that our era is characterized by completely different, fundamental features, that are linked primarily with the successes of the modern workers movement. However, the danger of terrorism, including "leftist" terrorism, should not be discounted.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V. I., *Poln. sobr. soch.* [Complete Collected Works], Vol 5, p 7.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol 30, p 315.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol 6, p 382.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol 14, p 5.
5. *Il terrorismo in fabbrica*, Roma, 1978, p 51.
6. PANORAMA, No 19, 1978, p 38.
7. *Terrorism: Theory and Practice*, Boulder, Colorado, 1979, p 216.
8. PANORAMA, No 606, 1979, p 43.
9. Bilen, I., "The Situation in Turkey," *PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA*, No 2, 1979, p 28.
10. EPOCA, 22 March 1978.
11. Specialists feel that the preparation of such criminal acts, for example, as the kidnapping of the leader of the Italian Christian Democratic Party, A. Moro, requires months of careful preparation and practice, and the direct and indirect participation of hundreds of people with strictly differentiated functions.
12. Sily, A., *Brigate Rosse -- Stato*, Firenze, 1978, p 221.
13. LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, No 683, 1977, p 59.
14. Negri, A., *Marx oltre Marx*, Milano, 1979, p 175.
15. *Ibid.*, p 171.
16. See: THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS, 16 August 1979.

17. L'ESPRESSO, No 27, 1979, p 13.
18. L'EUROPEO, No 24-25, 1979, p 30.
19. *Il terrorismo in fabbrica*, p 7.
20. Muller-Borchart, H. J., *Guerilla im Industriestadt*, Hamburg, 1973, p 132.
21. See: L'UNITA, 12 May 1978.
22. L'UNITA, 11 May 1978.
23. Practically all the authors who write about terrorism comment on the extremely dangerous role played by the bourgeois means of mass information, which, irrespective of their attitude toward terrorism, factually speaking, assume the role of propagandizing the activities, ideas, and experience of the terrorists. The latter are well aware of this and frequently they "work" specially for the press, since they are convinced that the press will describe their actions in detail, sowing fear and unrest, and disseminating in millions of copies their declarations, "communiques," etc.
24. See: Ferri M., *Speech: Socialist International Congress 14-th, Vancouver, November 3-5, 1978*, pp 1-6.
25. Quoted from: MARXISTISCHE BLÄTTER, No 4, 1978, p 49.

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REGIONAL

SOLOMENTSEV STRESSES IDEOLOGICAL DUTIES OF ARTISTS, WRITERS

Speech to Artists Union Board

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Dec 80 p 2

[Report on M.S. Solomentsev speech at RSFSR Artists Union Board plenum]

[Text] With what are the masters of Russia's fine arts approaching the 26th CPSU Congress--an RSFSR Artists Union Board plenum was devoted to this theme. Its participants--representatives of the union's 72 creative organizations--summed up the results of work over the past 5 years, discussed plans for the future, outlined specific measures aimed ~~at~~ the further galvanization of the creativity of the artists and settled a number of organizational issues.

Artists see it as the purpose of their activity, S.P. Tkachev, chairman of the RSFSR Artists Union Board, emphasized in his report, to portray the Soviet people's heroic accomplishments and to enhance the ideological significance of the works and their striking imagery and artistic content. Leading artists, union board secretaries, critics and art experts participated in extensive discussion of the report.

The plenum was addressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Solomentsev, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The RSFSR Artists Union Board plenum is being held at a significant time, M.S. Solomentsev said, when our entire country and the entire people are approaching the 26th congress of the Communist Party with unprecedented labor and political enthusiasm.

Russia's artists are also preparing for the party congress together with the whole country. They are summing up the results of their work, examining thoughtfully and critically everything that they have succeeded in doing and setting new creative boundaries.

And this is profoundly symbolic. Art in our country lives a single life with the people, serves their interests and takes pride in their achievements.

This plenum has its own special feature of note for Russia's artists. The RSFSR Artists Union was set up 20 years ago.

It gives me great pleasure to carry out the pleasant and honorary assignment of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev--conveying to all our republic's artists his cordial greetings in connection with the Artists Union's 20th anniversary and good wishes for big creative successes in the creation of works worthy of our fine people and great times.

Leonid Il'ich also asked me to convey to you that the party Central Committee values highly the contribution of Russia's artists to the noble cause of the communist education of Soviet people and development of the art of socialist realism. He expressed confidence that Russia's artists would continue to work indefatigably in the name of the burgeoning of our motherland and the people's happiness.

In these final days of the 10th Five-Year Plan the working people are summing up everywhere--in the plants and factories, at construction sites and in science laboratories, on kolkhoz fields and in livestock sections and in establishments of culture and art--the results of the 5-year period just elapsed and determining tasks for the future.

The Soviet people warmly approved the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee October Plenum and the propositions and conclusions contained in the speech of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and have interpreted them as a combat program of preparations for the 26th party congress and a program of the further strengthening of the motherland's economic might and a rise in the working people's material well-being and culture.

The constant concern of the party and state for an enhancement in the ideological-artistic level of literature and art and a strengthening of their relations with practice and for the growth of professional craftsmanship have created conditions conducive to a galvanization of creative activity everywhere, and the close cooperation and mutual enrichment of the fraternal cultures strikingly attest the triumph of Lenin's nationality and cultural policy. It is significant that there has been a marked increase in the expertise of artists of the autonomous republics, krays and oblasts and that their work is essentially in no way distinguishable from the works of the mature artists of the capital.

Recent years were fruitful ones for Russia's artists. A process of the enrichment of the language of artistic expression occurred, new stylistic and genre possibilities were revealed and individualities and entire artistic directions even took shape. Not everything, of course, stood the test of time. That which was ambiguous, superficial and incidental was rejected. That which was truly innovative invariably met with public support and was strengthened, enriching our artistic culture.

The RSFSR Artists Union must be given its due for the fact that in the two decades of its existence it has, in conjunction with the cultural authorities under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee and the local party authorities, done much to preserve and multiply the best realistic traditions of Russian and Soviet works of art, to propagandize the fine arts and the best examples thereof and to perfect the forms and methods of work with artists. Enlarged union board traveling plenums and secretariats at leading construction projects and industrial and agricultural enterprises exert a considerable influence on artistic creativity. Various exhibitions and artists' meetings and discussions with the workers of city and village and the active participation therein of the party, soviet and public organizations of the krays, oblasts and autonomous republics are raising appreciably the sociopolitical tone of the life of the creative union.

The party Central Committee attaches importance to the development of artistic creativity. As you know, these questions have been examined repeatedly by the RSFSR Government also. Much has been done in execution of the adopted decisions locally to galvanize creative life and improve the artists' work and social conditions and for exhibitions to be held more successfully.

At the same time what has been done should not be exaggerated. Full use is not yet being made of our possibilities for developing the fine arts. The Council of Ministers intends to continue to consistently increase the attention paid by ministries and departments and all local soviet authorities to questions of the development of the fine arts and the questions troubling the artists.

It is evident that both the Artists Union and its organizations in the oblasts, krays and autonomous republics must display more activeness, initiative and persistence in the implementation of measures envisaged by the government.

Of course, we all have much to do to insure that our fine arts accomplish more successfully the tasks being set them at the current stage of the Communist Party.

Lenin's belief that art belongs to the people has always been fundamental in the building of socialist culture. The role of literature and art increases immeasurably in the era of developed socialism. Culture is exerting an increasingly great influence on the formation of a comprehensively developed personality and society's social and scientific-technical progress. High consciousness, industriousness and irreconcilability to shortcomings, instances of an unconscientious attitude toward work and lax management, in a word, everything which directly influences the development of the economy and production and the formation of the makeup of the man of our time and subsequent generations is connected more than ever today with the general upsurge of Soviet people's culture in the broadest and deepest sense.

"The further we advance along the path of communist building and the stronger our economy and the better provided for the people's life become," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said upon presentation to him of the Lenin Prize, "the greater the significance attached to the tasks of people's sociopolitical, cultural, moral and aesthetic education."

The CPSU Central Committee October Plenum emphasized with new force that society's economic and social development must be subordinated to an increasingly great extent

to concern for the good of the people and an improvement in work conditions, public health, education and culture.

This, naturally, also presupposes enrichment of the entire spiritual life of society. Russia's artists are also making an appreciable contribution to the multifaceted process of a new upsurge of socialist culture. At this precongress time they are holding their republic exhibition, which is the result of the 5 years of work of the masters of art of all generations. The present "Soviet Russia" exhibition and the 11 regional exhibitions which preceded it are striking evidence that our republic's artists have something to report to the congress of the dear party and that RSFSR art is developing successfully. It has taken a major new step forward thanks to the constant concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The party teaches that the ideological directivity of any work of literature and art is that which is most important and which determines its social significance. Party documents on literature and art emphasize here that ideological conviction and artistic content are inseparably connected and that the party regards them as a single criterion in evaluating works of art.

The party has always supported and continues to support the artists' creative quest. It supports the complete unfolding of individuality and gifts and talents and a diversity and richness of forms and styles cultivated on the basis of the method of socialist realism, which characterizes the artist's class, party attitude and his understanding of the essence of the phenomena he is investigating. But it would be wrong not to mention that weak, incomplete works lacking a profound understanding of the economic, social and spiritual processes occurring in our society are encountered at some exhibitions from time to time.

Of course, no one is about to regulate the artists' professional quest, even less dictate any narrow tastes and inclinations. The party supports the broadest range of creative search and a solicitous attitude toward the work of each artist. Lenin's belief that literature and art least submit to a mechanical alinement and leveling and that it is essential here to provide great scope for personal initiative and individual proclivities, thought and fantasy and form and content is well known. But if the creative quest leads to a work of art becoming ambiguous or altogether meaningless and if it wittingly or unwittingly begins to work against socialist ideas or simply proves to be of a low ideological-artistic level, discrediting the subject chosen by the artist, its author must be told of this directly and candidly.

It is very important that a truly creative atmosphere be maintained in each collective, making it possible for each artist to display his individuality in full, unite the masters and the creative youth on a platform of high ideological-artistic exactingness and attract all that is truly talented. The union's local organizations are called on to display concern for the creation of an atmosphere of an attentive and respectful attitude toward the artist in combination with high comradely exactingness and high-mindedness. It is necessary to resolutely resist here all attempts to impose someone's personal or group partialities and all narrow formal concepts, which inevitably split the artists. Unity of party, class and ideological-artistic principles with complete freedom of creative quest—this is the truly fruitful path by which Soviet Russia's Artists Union is proceeding today and, we are sure, will continue to proceed.

The question of questions of artistic creativity is connection with the life of the people and the truthful reflection of contemporaneity.

Contemporaneity is the profound artistic interpretation of life, the reflection of it in all its multiformity and the revelation of the dynamism of our remarkable times and invigorating optimism and the assertion of everything positive and promising engendered in our society's ongoing movement. Contemporaneity is the man of the era of developed socialism, his spiritual world, his belief in the rightness of our cause, his readiness for exploits and his moral purity. In remaking the world he is remaking himself also. Today's worker, kolkhoz member, scientist and party and business leader is no longer the person who initiated the country's socialist reorganization in the first 5-year plans. He was born of revolutionary fervor, passion and enthusiasm. But the people who today, at the turn of the 1980's, are conquering space, transforming the nonchernozem and developing the incalculable wealth of Siberia and the Far East--these are new people. They are wise with the experience of our struggle and victories and have profound and varied knowledge, a high general and professional culture and contemporary spiritual requirements. And their outward appearance is different. And the true artist, responsive to his time, cannot in his work overlook these changes. It is important that any work of art help the party in its education of the new man, the man of labor, patriot and internationalist.

The illustrious accomplishments and plans of our contemporary are being reflected artistically increasingly frequently and profoundly in the works of the masters of the fine arts. We all recall the upsurge of creative enthusiasm which embraced the artists of many oblasts, kraya and autonomous and even union republics during preparations for the "We Are Building the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad" exhibition. And this was reflected perceptibly in the content and quality of the works.

The experience of the organization of the "My Nonchernozem" republic art exhibition, which was shown successfully in Tula, Orel, Pskov, Gor'kiy and other cities, was instructive and fruitful.

The "Tyumen' Land" exhibition attracted the spectators' attention. And it is not fortuitous that the majority of the works of art of this exhibition is now in the art galleries of the oil workers of West Siberia.

The Artists Union and Ministry of Culture must evidently continue to regularly hold republic thematic exhibitions, concentrating the artists' attention on the most important areas of the struggle to implement the party's designs.

Permanent artist creative brigades began to appear a few years ago at the biggest new construction sites, on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in the army and navy. The work of these creative brigades at the Kama Truck Plant and in Tol'yatti, at the "Krasnyy Sormov" and on the "Kuban'" Sovkhoz, at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine and in the Ivanovo textile region has produced positive results. Many talented works were created, many of which occupied a central place at a number of the biggest art exhibitions and are now on display in art museums. Unfortunately, the union's attention to the work of these groups locally has slackened off of late. We are losing much because of this, I believe.

I would like to touch on one further question. The Communist Party daily displays concern for the training of a gifted replacement shift of the Soviet artistic intelligentsia, helping it display its gifts more fully and directing it along a promising creative path. The well-known CPSU Central Committee decree "Work With the Creative Youth" is of tremendous significance in work with young people and in raising them in a spirit of high communist ideological conviction and professional craftsmanship. It observes that "the entire work with young artists should be based on a combination of a sensitive, respectful attitude toward them with exactingness and high-mindedness."

This makes it incumbent on the union to constantly nurture in the young people a lively interest in present-day problems, present them with relevant creative tasks and help them successfully accomplish them. It would probably be correct for the benevolent and at the same time exacting discussion of the work of the young artists in the union organizations and labor collectives to henceforward be a part of the daily practice of the union's work.

It has already been mentioned at the plenum that many successes have been scored in artistic creativity. However, it would be wrong not to see that together with the successes superficial, primitive and vapid works still appear here which touch neither man's heart nor mind and in this respect do little to help our common cause.

Raising the question of the problem of professional craftsmanship is correct in this connection. There is no doubt that it is growing, on the whole. But statistical-average indicators are no use in such a subtle business as art. And if we speak of failures or very slight successes, many questions arise here--the artist's responsibility for his work, his diligence and professional training in educational institutions and the level of art criticism.

Much depends here, naturally, on the organization of artistic education. Without belittling the successes in the work of the educational art institutions, we also have to take account of the complaints which are heard concerning the shortcomings in the training of the personnel. There is evidently a need here for an in-depth investigation of this business and the adoption of measures for an improvement in the work of the educational art institutions--keeping an attentive watch on their development by region, particularly in Siberia and the Far East. Naturally, the most concerned participation of the USSR Artists Union and the Academy of Arts, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is required here.

Art exhibitions are of great significance in Soviet people's ideological-aesthetic education; they are visited by millions of working people. It should be emphasized that we have immeasurably increased opportunities for exhibition activity today. We have an extensive network of state galleries and exhibition halls. Excellent new exhibition premises have appeared in Kazan' and Tyumen', Makhachkala and Syktyvkar and in Chita and Ryazan' in the last 2 years alone. It would surely be advisable to formulate and implement a long-term plan of exhibition activity, providing for the maximum use of all available premises. Thought should also be given, perhaps, to certain organizational measures which would contribute to an improvement in the leadership of exhibition work on a republic scale.

It is also very important to upgrade the role and responsibility of the purchasing commissions and display concern to exclude from their practice all manifestations of subjectivism. Only one principle should be observed in the work of the purchasing commissions: the value and expediency of the purchase of a work are determined by its ideological-artistic merit.

The question of making up displays of our art museums also merits attention. Of course, we have many magnificent museums with well-considered displays. And we are legitimately proud of them. But, unfortunately, displays are sometimes put on in certain museums to the detriment of good realistic works. We need to look for more efficient forms of the work of the museum. This is, after all, only sensible if some art museum is overloaded with fine works, some of which have been held in reserve for years, while in another the exhibition area is sometimes filled out with works lacking high ideological-artistic properties. We should persistently ponder how to strengthen the peripheral museums, particularly in the east of the republic, thanks to a certain redistribution of the collections also. It is said that the leaders of certain museums will object to this. But, after all, a good work of art is public property, and its place is in a museum display. But where this museum is located--this is another question, which has to be decided by proceeding from the interests of society.

An important task of the Artists Union is work on the aesthetic inculcation and development of artistic tastes in children and schoolchildren. The artist and children is a grand, important, state theme. Considerable instructive experience of children's aesthetic upbringing through the fine arts media has been accumulated in the republic, as throughout the country.

Need it be said that aesthetic education begins virtually with a child's first steps?! And how this task is accomplished is a question of considerable importance in the activity of the educational, cultural and Artists Union bodies. It is evidently necessary to display concern to insure that the professional artist who is a member of the union participate more actively in general work on the aesthetic upbringing of the younger generation and consider it his noble and honorary mission before society.

Many people's galleries have been created in the republic. But practice shows that the life of the people's gallery frequently depends solely on the personal initiative of this artist or the other. But the union, as an organization capable not only of setting up a gallery but also of regularly performing educational work on the basis of it, is paying insufficient attention to this. Meanwhile the majority of such galleries is opening in the villages, particularly in the nonchernozem villages, where the artist's presence is needed particularly today.

One further very important problem demands the most serious attention: it is connected with concern for the development of the art workshops. The CPSU Central Committee decree "The People's Art Workshops" made it possible for a state approach to be adopted to the solution of the long-urgent problems here. Much has already been done for the development of the art workshops. The magnificent report of the people's craftsmen at regional exhibitions and at the "Soviet Russia" exhibition speaks for itself.

At the same time the Artists Union, the Ministry of Culture and the ministries and departments which have jurisdiction over the people's workshops still have much to do to enhance the role and significance of the people's craftsman and for the careful preservation and creative development of the specific traditions of each workshop built up over the ages. Increasingly more artistic products are being manufactured for the people. But the series product of the workshops frequently leaves much to be desired. Its quality sometimes elicits people's justified complaints. Of course, the art councils, union organizations and cultural bodies should have their authoritative say here.

The artists and the people's skilled craftsmen are creating many unique works. And this is good. But at the same time it is necessary to ponder in earnest the reasons why these excellent products are only for exhibition and not the broad customer. A certain elitist nature of work intended for exhibitions but not for mass consumption may also be discerned in professional decorative-applied art.

Our people are displaying an increased interest in art, works of art and everything of beauty which becomes a part of their lives. This is gratifying and inspires creativity. But this also makes a great deal incumbent on the artist. He is called on to be here not only the creator of things of true beauty but also the educator of high taste and an active participant in the formation of the spiritual world of the man of the new society.

The fine arts, primarily monumental art, are increasingly actively shaping the interiors of public buildings and installations and appearing in the streets and squares and on the highways. In other words, an aesthetic environment is being created in which Soviet man lives, works and relaxes. However, I would like to emphasize that the role of the Artists Union should be upgraded decisively here. The Russian Union, in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Arts, which now includes architects, could make its real contribution to this urgently needed work. What is meant here is not only the preservation of that which exists but also the development of new projects and installations in an organic blend with the rural and urban landscape and the creation of the most propitious environment for the life and activity of the man of the socialist society. Of course, this is a special subject and requires in full the solutions not only of the public organizations but of many state authorities also.

The artist is an ideological worker, party fighter and spokesman for the best aspirations of his people. The glorious detachment of RSFSR artists will continue to loyally assist the party in inculcating in Soviet people selfless devotion to communist ideals, love for the socialist fatherland and the lofty feelings of proletarian internationalism and will greet the 26th congress of the Communist Party with new creative successes.

Speech to RSFSR Writers Congress

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 80 p 3

[Report on M.S. Solomentsev speech at RSFSR Writers Congress]

[Excerpts] The crucial tasks confronting men of letters at the current stage of communist building were at the center of the attention of the delegates to the

Fifth RSFSR Writers Congress, which began work on 9 December in the Great Kremlin Palace.

Among the guests were emissaries of writers of the union republics, representatives of Muscovite working people, art personalities, scientists, party and soviet workers and soldiers of the armed forces.

Those assembled greeted Comrades V.V. Grishin, A.P. Kirilenko, M.A. Suslov, P.N. Demichev, B.N. Ponomarev, M.S. Solomentsev, I.V. Kapitonov, V.I. Dolgikh and M.V. Zimyanin with applause.

With great enthusiasm the delegates and guests elected the CPSU Central Committee headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev honorary presidium.

The congress was addressed by M.S. Solomentsev, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

He conveyed to the congress delegates and, through them, all Russia's writers the cordial greetings of L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Leonid Il'ich wished the men of letters big successes in the creation of new works about our glorious motherland and heroic people and the great deeds of our contemporaries. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev also asked me to convey the fact that the party Central Committee values highly Russian men of letters' contribution to the noble cause of Soviet people's communist upbringing. He expressed confidence that the RSFSR's writers would continue to loyally serve the socialist fatherland and our ~~so~~ people, giving to them their gifts and inspiration.

Our literature has an important role, the speaker continued, in the multifaceted process of the development of Soviet society. It was formed, matured and refined together with the whole country in the course of great social transformations. Its best works have reflected in striking artistic images the historic stages of the revolutionary renewal of the country of soviets and marked out with unforgettable landmarks the path it has trodden from the valley of the "Auro:a" to the present days of the developed socialist society.

This has also been a historic path for the multinational Russian literature. It developed and is now developing under the sign of high ideological conviction and party-mindedness, public spirit, patriotism and socialist internationalism. Like all Soviet art, it is oriented toward the development of major social problems, asserts the active life position of the hero of our day and strikingly reveals his communist conviction and high morality.

The writers look intently into the popular character and interpret time in the entire breadth of its epic shores and the expanses of the popular memory. They are fascinated by all aspects of the life of our Soviet home with its "appy destiny and eternal summons to constant quest and creativity. They are inspired by the exploits of the people, who are transforming the vast territory of Siberia, the North and the Far East, and the immortal feat of the soldiers, who battled for the motherland at

the time of the fascist invasion. In their sensitive heart is both the grief of mothers and the shining joy of victory. The writers' intelligence rebels angrily against modern obscurantism and nuclear madness. In other words, they converse with the readers about life in its principal reality.

Defining the tasks of revolutionary parties, V.I. Lenin called for the masses to be shown "our democratic and socialist ideal in all its magnificence and all its fascination." Today this ideal finds real embodiment in genuine people's power, in the developed socialist economy, in the continuously growing culture of the broadest people's masses and in the makeup of the new man--the builder of communism. Showing the whole world the great advantages of real socialism and making our democratic and socialist ideal even more compelling is a most important task of ideological work and, consequently, of literature also.

The writer in Soviet society is not simply an artist of the word. He is also a prestigious public figure actively invading with his work all spheres of our reality and responding sensitively to vital processes in the entire multiformity of their manifestations. This is why it is very important that the writer possess a keen sense of contemporaneity.

This is possible only if the writer lives the concerns of his people, shares their joy and sorrow and successes and failures and sees not only the surface of phenomena but also the profound currents of the people's life.

For the first time in history labor in our socialist state has become truly creative, ennobling and elevating man. For this reason it is natural that the hero of many literary works is our contemporary--the man of labor. This is determined not by decrees and resolutions but by the very social nature of the soviet system, society's ideological-moral self-awareness and Soviet people's spiritual aesthetic requirements.

And the greater the acceleration of the rhythm of our times and the more complex the tasks we are accomplishing, the more insistent the need for the creation of the image of a hero who in all human truth embodies the characteristics of a creator-people. How many splendid people and real heroes we have! They live and work among us, not thinking of glory and honors. But it is precisely they who could rightly be the heroes of new books and a high moral example for today's youth and future generations.

A most important area of present-day literature is profound revelation of the truly historic processes of the combination of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system, implementation of the modern agrarian policy, the further improvement of social relations and the formation of the new man.

Russia's writers are addressing increasingly actively what is being engendered daily in real life and in the practice of communist building. It may be boldly asserted that today, more than ever before, the art of the word is vitally involved in the life and labor of the people. Similar to the way in which in the first 5-year plans literature aided the building of Magnitka, the Kuzbass and the Dneproges and gave the call to battle and victory in the evil years of war, in our day also it takes

its place at the foremost bounds of socialist construction and everywhere where people have been carried away by the great work of the age. And I would like you to be constantly inspired by the example of the figures of Soviet literature whose work has always corresponded to the urgent spiritual requirements of Soviet society and revealed to it the shining communist future.

I would like to mention particularly Siberia and its people and writers. Currently "Siberia is building up" the might not just of Russia alone but of the whole country also. To the same extent there should be a buildup in writers' interest in the epic of unprecedented economic and social transformations being accomplished by the Soviet people. Contemporary problems of Siberia are considerable and multifaceted. I would like to wish for the ever increasing strengthening of the writers' organizations of this vast, most wealthy and promising region of the country and for the young writers to be attached with their hearts and their entire creative destiny to the region of Siberia. Of course, for this it is necessary for increased attention to be paid to the life and work of Siberian and Far East writers on the part of the Writers Union, the local party and soviet authorities and the appropriate republic organizations.

Russian literature has accumulated a wealth of experience of the portrayal of the life and destiny of the peasantry and the socialist reorganization of the countryside. The speaker expressed confidence that, taking this experience as a basis, writers would successfully continue the artistic investigation of the modern village, which is changing radically in way of life, production conditions, culture and mentality.

M.S. Solomentsev emphasized the tremendous significance of the transformation of the nonchernozem zone--this region of colonial potential and the age-old heart of Russia. Russia's writers are devoting much attention to the nonchernozem region and its people and problems. The nonchernozem today is an optimistic theme, a theme of the people's exploits and daily routine and difficult, perhaps, but glorious deeds and accomplishments. It is a long-term theme, and it is very important that it be addressed by increasingly new creative forces and that the writers see more perceptively the dynamics of the region's development and its prospects and the profoundly humanistic meaning of the work of transformation. We could then be sure that the writers' works would find a lively response in people's hearts and summon the youth to labor gloriously in the noble field of the transformation of the nonchernozem region.

The Soviet people's successes in the economy and culture have been scored under the leadership of the Lenin Party. That is why at all stages of the struggle for socialism the deep inner motivation of the writers has always been an endeavor to create the image of the communist--leader of the masses, worker and innovator and selfless fighter for the people's happiness. It is not in doubt that Soviet men of letters will consistently continue the artistic annals of the heroic deeds of the Communist Party--the party of the entire people--which embodies the mind, honor and conscience of our era.

A most important calling of all Soviet literature is the education of our children and grandchildren, whose job it is to continue communist construction. Our literature for children and the youth is rightly recognized as being the most humanistic, bright and geared to the ideals of goodness, justice and human nobleness. It is

performing a lofty mission, actively asserting the continuity of the generations and the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the people and, consequently, the immortality of our great cause.

Striking new books for young readers have been written in recent years about V.I. Lenin and his associates, about our party and about the Soviet people's exploits in days of war and peace. This was, is and will remain the principal, arterial subject range, and increasingly new talents and the attention of the masters of all literary types and genres should be attracted to it.

I would also like to see even more significant works for children and juveniles on the present day which inculcate diligence, modesty, a respectful attitude toward one's elders, courage and honesty. It is important here that the book attract by the spiritual and moral beauty of high example and stir in young hearts a desire to continue and multiply what has been begun by their fathers.

Literature can and is called on to do much more to give young citizens a true idea not only of the present but also of the future and its main, determining features. Young readers expect new talented books describing the joy of labor and cognition, the achievements of science and production and the modern professions and books helping them make a correct choice of their labor path for life.

The speaker went on to dwell on the tasks confronting Soviet dramatic art. Our people evaluate the fruitful activity of the populous detachment of dramatists of different generations at its worth, he said. The best Soviet plays reveal truthfully and in depth the historical-revolutionary theme, the Soviet way of life and the character of our contemporary--the convinced builder of the new world. At the same time it has to be noted that works still sometimes make their way through to the stage which are featureless artistically and secondary in problematic range and which glide on the surface of phenomena in which the determining positive trends of our socioeconomic development are sometimes not visible behind individual facts.

Real life constantly makes new, higher demands on theatrical art. Each play and each performance is called on to enrich the audience spiritually and emotionally, awake in it noble moral aspirations and inculcate high aesthetic tastes.

The reader seeks in a talented work of art representing an in-depth study of man an answer to the questions troubling him: for the sake of what and how he is living in this world, what the meaning of life is and what he will leave behind after him. Our literature is great in that it provides an answer to the fundamental questions confronting the people and the individual personality. It inculcates in man lofty moral qualities and purveys the ideas of humanism and irreconcilability to social evil, national exclusiveness and disparagement of human dignity. It is great in that it is exalted by the ideas of communism.

The Soviet system really provides for each citizen fitting conditions for the realization of his capabilities, gifts and life goals. None of us is a stepson of society and no one can be cast overboard, as is frequently the case in the so-called "free world." Extensive social rights and benefits--all these have become an organic part of our life and become routine and taken for granted, as it were. But there is no freedom without conscious responsibility and no rights without duties. Here is a most complex sector of ideological and political-educational work.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that relapses into a philistine, petit bourgeois mentality and morality and instances of violations of labor discipline, a dishonest attitude toward socialist property and an egotistical endeavor to get as much out of society as possible still make their presence felt.

Of course, such negative phenomena are not characteristic of the bulk of the working people. But it would be wrong not to mention them, even less overlook them. We can only welcome literature's increased attention to moral problems and its active criticism of philistinism, consumerism and individualism.

Party documents on questions of literature and art point out that the social significance of works of art is determined primarily by their ideological directivity. At the same time ideological conviction and artistic content are inseparably connected and are a single criterion of an evaluation of the results of creative work. Real success and recognition comes to a writer when a wealth of material of life, interpreted from the height of a party-minded world outlook, acquires an inimitable, truly artistic form. The party supports the broadest range of creative quest, the complete revelation of talents and the diversity and richness of literary manners and styles, which are being fruitfully developed and enriched on the basis of the method of socialist realism.

The ideas of communism are becoming an increasingly magnetic force worldwide. It is for precisely this reason that imperialism is making continuous ideological attacks on the Soviet Union and its social and state system and attempting to blacken socialism and undermine the unity of the peoples of our country and the socialist community countries.

In the atmosphere of the exacerbated ideological struggle of the two opposite social systems we cannot for one moment lessen the aggressive spirit of Soviet literature, which has always inculcated in Soviet people love for the socialist fatherland and a readiness to defend it. At the same time it acts as the standard-bearer of friendship among peoples of the world and is struggling persistently for social justice and the ideals of democracy, peace and progress.

The CPSU Central Committee calls on all ideological personnel, including writers, to expose with even greater decisiveness the imperialist instigators of war and to reveal in a skillful, well-argued, intelligible manner the antipopular, antihumane essence of modern capitalism.

The ardent word of the personalities of Soviet literature advocating peace is truly priceless. The voice of our truth is heard far and wide and penetrates all continents. May it resound even more passionately and may it summon all people of good will to the struggle for peace, international cooperation and a better future. This is the honorary duty of Soviet men of letters.

Comrades! The development of contemporary Soviet literature is based firmly on the multifaceted forms of socialist democracy which have evolved. The growth of the prestige of the writers' unions as authoritative social organizations is a striking manifestation thereof. The creative unions have been accorded broad rights, which are legislatively enshrined in the constitution of the Soviet Union.

An atmosphere of creative exactingness, high-mindedness and comradely professional criticism is strengthening increasingly in the writers' milieu. This attests the strong health of the Writers Union and that it is on the right path.

The day of the opening of the 26th CPSU Congress, which will determine the further paths of the development of the society of mature socialism and reveal the extensive horizons of the communist future, is not far off, the speaker said in conclusion. Trusting the Communist Party completely and entirely supporting its Leninist policy, the Soviet people are greeting their party congress with new successes in economic and cultural building. The RSFSR's writers are also living the concerns, thoughts and plans common to all Soviet people. M.S. Solomentsev wished all Russian men of letters big creative achievements and new successes in their noble activity.

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LITHUANIAN PARTY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES REPUBLIC'S ECONOMY

Moscow PLANOVYE KHOZYAYSTVO in Russian No 11, Nov 80 pp 3-13

Article by P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Vilnius: "The Lithuanian SSR: Economic Growth and Ways of and Factors in Increasing the Efficiency of Public Production"

Text This year the Lithuanian nation festively celebrated a bright and joyous holiday--the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in Lithuania. The moving message of greetings by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, the warm congratulations by L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the third government award--the Order of the October Revolution--given to the Lithuanian SSR left an indelible mark in the hearts of all workers in Nemanskiy Kray and inspired them to new labor achievements for the sake of bright future--communism.

For 4 decades the economy of the Lithuanian SSR has developed in the country's single national economic complex as its organic component. Everything that has been done on Lithuanian land during the years of Soviet rule is permeated with the unfading light of Lenin's teachings and is a spectacular result of the implementation of the wise Leninist national policy of the CPSU and of the fraternal friendship of all Soviet nations. The socialist path opened up unlimited opportunities for a dynamic and proportional development of the republic's productive forces and for the formation of a branch structure of the national economy and ensured the implementation of very profound transformations in all the spheres of life.

The rates and trends of development of all material production branches are due mainly to the need for a significant rise in the industrial level of the national economy, its overall and harmonious growth, the population's full and rational employment and increase in the republic's contribution to the solution of all-Union problems on the basis of the maximum utilization of local resources and the demands for an optimum territorial division of labor on a countrywide scale.

The high rates of economic growth of the Lithuanian SSR, which exceeded the average indicators in the country for almost the entire postwar period, are some of the most characteristic features of the development of its productive forces.

During a historically short period they made it possible to overcome the economic backwardness inherited from the capitalist system and to create a highly developed economic and scientific-technical potential.

The industrialization of the republic's national economy and, primarily, the rapid development of industry played an exceptional role in ensuring a highly dynamic economy and profound changes in its structure. From one 5-year period to another the republic's industry increased its power and made ever greater advances. The dynamism of this process is clearly indicated by the fact that during 1951-1979 the fixed capital in the republic's industry increased 40-fold. Now Lithuania's industry every 6 days produces as much output as it did during the entire year of 1940. Whereas in the early 1950's the per-capita industrial output produced in our republic was approximately one-half the output throughout the country, now Lithuania slightly exceeds the average Union level in this indicator.

Now the republic's industry is represented by nearly all the basic branches of production. The lack of the most important minerals--metal ores and modern types of fuel resources--in the interior of the earth in the republic and, therefore, the great expenditures on their delivery were taken into account during the formation of the branch structure of industry. Branches in the forefront of scientific and technical progress hold the leading place in Lithuania's industry. The machine building and metalworking industry accounts for 25 percent of the total volume of industrial production. Radio engineering, electronic and chemical industries and instrument making--branches comparatively not very material intensive, but requiring considerable inputs of skilled labor--have become its specialized branches.

During the past years, for all practical purposes, the following were established anew and developed: modern power facilities, the chemical industry, the production of cement, industrial building elements and wood slabs and many other advanced industries. An incipient new branch--the petroleum refining industry--and atomic power engineering are of great importance for the national economic complex of our republic.

Along with the significant development of heavy industry branches, branches producing consumer goods retain an important place in the structure of the republic's industry. The traditional branches of our industry--light, food and meat and dairy branches--have been transformed beyond recognition and have become highly equipped technically. In essence, a large fishing base has been established anew and fish processing, ship building and ship repair enterprises have been built. The complex of food and light industry branches now produces up to 50 percent of the total volume of industrial output.

In the republic large capacities have been established and large-scale production of goods for cultural and general purposes and household use, that is, television sets, household refrigerators, tape recorders, furniture and so forth, has been organized.

The rapid growth of industrial branches led to fundamental changes in the social and economic structure of the republic's national economy and in the settlement and employment of the population. During the past 4 decades the industrial and

production personnel increased ninefold. Whereas during the prewar period only 8 to 9 percent of the population was employed in Lithuania's industry, now the proportion of those employed in industry comprises almost 30 percent.

Socialism gave wide scope for the development of productive forces in agriculture and for the introduction of modern technology and scientific achievements into production and made it possible to successfully solve the problems of fundamental improvement in the living and working conditions of rural workers. The party's modern agrarian policy is the basis for the advances made in the development of agriculture. The decisions of the March (1965) and of subsequent plenums of the Central Committee and CPSU congresses were of decisive importance.

In the republic's agriculture modern machinery and equipment are used ever more widely and production processes are mechanized in an overall manner. Since about one-half of the agricultural land needed drainage, large-scale work on the construction of waterworks was and is being carried out. A total of 2.2 million hectares of water logged and swampy land, or more than 60 percent of its total area, have been reclaimed by closed drainage by now. It is remarkable that land reclamation is not only the construction of drainage systems, but also the implementation of a whole set of reclamation and other measures creating a firm basis for modern farming.

The implemented measures for the intensification of agricultural production and strengthening of kolkhoz and sovkhoz economy ensured a stable growth of output. Now the annual volume of gross agricultural output in Lithuania is more than twice as high as the volumes of prewar years, although under the bourgeois system almost three-fourths of the employed population worked in agriculture and now, less than one-fourth. During the 4 years of the current five-year plan, despite unfavorable weather conditions, the average annual yield of grain crops totaled 25 quintals per hectare, which is twice as much as during the best years under the bourgeois system.

Animal husbandry has become a highly productive branch of agriculture. Measures aimed at the strengthening of the fodder base, mechanization of production processes and establishment of a highly productive pedigree herd played the most important part in its development. The number of cattle and hogs exceeds similar indicators in Lithuania in 1940 more than twofold and of poultry, by a factor of 3.5. The productivity of animals is also growing. All this makes it possible to steadily increase the production of livestock products. An average of about 130 quintals of meat in carcass weight and 750 quintals of milk per 100 hectares of agricultural land were produced in the republic in 1979. Meanwhile, approximately one-third of this output was produced on the same land area in bourgeois Lithuania.

The increase in material and technical equipment and in the intensification of agricultural production and the need for its further buildup gave rise to new forms of organization of production—its specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration. This opens up wider possibilities for the unification of farm resources for the establishment of large specialized industrial-type enterprises using the most advanced technology and highly skilled labor.

The republic's modern transport system contributes to a successful development of productive forces. Under the conditions of a relatively small territory well-developed motor transport is of special importance. During the years of Soviet rule a great deal has been done to improve the republic's road network. The length of hard-surface motor roads increased from 2,200 km in 1940 to 21,400 km at present. One-third of these roads have an improved black surface. All kolkhozes and sovkhozes have regular bus communication with rayon centers and big cities. Railroad transport is also being modernized. Work on the electrification of the Vilnius Railroad Center has been carried out. The proportion of air transport in passenger communication is growing rapidly. All types of means of communication have been developed widely.

Along with the strengthening of the material and technical base of branches of the production sphere the entire nonproduction sphere has also changed beyond recognition in Soviet Lithuania. A vast program for the construction of housing, educational, public health, cultural, municipal and other facilities has been implemented in cities and rural areas during the years of Soviet rule, which has made it possible to solve important problems in the area of social development and contributed to the implementation of the policy of the Communist Party aimed at improving the people's well-being and the socialist way of life.

Summing up the results of 40 years of development of Soviet Lithuania, it can be stated that the high dynamism and major quantitative and profound qualitative changes in key economic branches and in the population's social structure made it possible to comparatively quickly solve such a very important socioeconomic and political problem as the republic's attainment of an average Union level of economic development, to establish a powerful production and scientific-technical potential and a modern production and social-general infrastructure of the national economy and to solve major problems of social development on the level of requirements of a developed socialist society.

Lithuania's workers observed the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power by implementing the program outlined by the 25th party congress and realizing the assignments of the concluding 10th Five-Year Plan. Workers in all national economic branches work intensely to fulfill the plans of the current year and of the entire 5-year period and to create the necessary basis for ensuring stable work during the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The decisions of the June (1980) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the tasks put forward in L. I. Brezhnev's report and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the development of socialist competition for an appropriate welcome to the 26th party congress direct us toward this.

Our country is on the threshold of the next 11th Five-Year Plan, which will be an important new stage in the development of its productive forces and in the further advance of the economy and the people's well-being. It will be also necessary to solve important problems in the Lithuanian SSR, that is, to continue to ensure a dynamic development of all the branches of the sphere of material production, making the maximum use of all potentials and opportunities.

The policy of a further systematic increase in the processes of intensification of public production is an integral part of the long-term economic strategy of the Communist Party. At the present stage in the development of the socialist economy the fullest and most efficient utilization of all production resources becomes the main way of attaining high production efficiency.

Constant work is being done in this direction in the Lithuanian SSR. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, party committees and Soviet and economic bodies make every effort to implement measures to ensure an increase in economic efficiency and to improve qualitative work parameters in all national economic units.

The task is to ensure further production growth mainly through an intensified use of the functioning fixed capital and production capacities and of labor, material and financial resources and an accelerated technical retooling of industry and other national economic branches, not through the creation of new jobs.

The problem of improving the use of labor resources takes on special importance. A very high level of the population's employment in the public sector (about 90 percent of the labor resources) has been attained in Lithuania. Therefore, the possibilities of involving additional manpower have almost been exhausted. The situation with respect to the redistribution of the population engaged in national labor is similar.

At the present stage it is a matter of the need to create the appropriate technical, economic, organizational and social prerequisites for an acceleration of the process of intensification and strengthening of the role of labor productivity in ensuring an increase in production. The republic's national economy is entering a stage of development where nearly the entire increase in production and, primarily, in industrial branches should be ensured through labor productivity growth.

This urgently requires an effective solution of the entire set of problems connected with a technical and organizational improvement in production and the realization of a vast program of social development.

A certain revision of some concepts and views of the processes occurring in the economy, as well as of management methods, is necessary. We see the main way of solving the problems facing us in this area in an accelerated introduction of the achievements of science and technology into the national economy and in a maximum utilization of the new opportunities arising on this basis.

Of great importance is the system of measures for improving planning and management established by the decree dated 12 July 1979 of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality."

A program of actions aimed at an acceleration of scientific and technical progress, increase in its efficiency and strengthening of the integration of science and production is implemented systematically in the Lithuanian SSR. Problems of overall mechanization and automation of production and reduction in the number of workers engaged in various types of unproductive and here and there heavy manual labor are put in the forefront.

A number of measures aimed at raising the technical level of production and reducing the use of manual labor are implemented. For example, at the republic's industrial enterprises in 4 years of the current five-year plan more than 900 mechanized flow and automatic lines were put into operation, 300 shops and sections were mechanized in an overall manner and more than 1,000 units of automatic and semiautomatic equipment were installed. As a result, through a rise in the technical level of production more than 54,000 workers were disengaged and about 350 million rubles of annual savings were obtained. In the last few years the level of mechanization and automation of labor rose considerably, reaching 51 percent throughout industry at the beginning of 1980. The absolute number of workers engaged in manual labor is also reduced gradually. However, the complexity of the solution of such problems is due to a considerable degree to the fact that about 45 percent of all the workers in the republic's industry are employed in auxiliary operations, where manual labor predominates. If two-thirds of the basic workers are engaged in mechanized labor, the same number of auxiliary workers work in manual labor.

In order to better solve these burning problems, it is necessary to ensure an overall approach and there is a need for well-coordinated efforts of branch and territorial management bodies and for a profound interaction of science and production. To raise the level of mechanization and automation of industrial production, there is a need for systematic evaluations and an analysis of the technical state of production, developments and introduction of long-term economically substantiated plans for the technical retooling of existing enterprises and overall mechanization of loading-unloading, warehouse and transport operations and the manufacture of small-scale mechanization equipment, nonstandardized equipment and so forth. At the same time, centralized production of mechanization equipment, especially for auxiliary operations, should be expanded.

Problems of improvement in specialization and intensification of production concentration are very urgent. In the last few years the republic's party organization has attained a certain rise in the level of organizational and economic work and production concentration. At the same time, problems of intensification of specialization are not solved as successfully as the interests of the cause dictate.

The development of centralized production of products for interbranch use, such as castings, forgings, stampings, equipment accessories, metal cutting tools, industrial holders and fasteners, industrial packaging materials and implements, centralization of the repair of plant equipment and machinery and development of production of spare and rapidly wearing out parts for all types of equipment for mass use are of great importance for an acceleration of technical progress in the national economy and on this basis increase in the rates of labor productivity growth. Up to now the situation has been improving slowly.

Owing to the poor development of centralized production of an interbranch nature, dozens of enterprises in the republic manufacture many types of these products with their own forces, which not only hampers technical progress, but also has a negative effect on the efficiency of basic production. At the enterprises of many branches of the machine building industry, basically, production is of a closed

nature which leads to certain national economic losses. The scientific research and planning and design organizations of the USSR Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry have worked out technical and economic proposals for the development of machine tool building enterprises located on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR during the 11th Five-Year Plan and the period until 1990. They draw special attention to measures for a centralized manufacture of structurally and technologically uniform parts, tools and other articles for general machine building use. This measure will give an economic effect of tens of millions of rubles on a republic scale alone.

The establishment of scientific production and production associations is one of the main trends in the rise in the scientific level of management and acceleration of technical progress.

The task of concluding in the next few years the formation of production associations as the basic cost accounting unit of industry was set in the party and government decisions on improving the economic mechanism. The process of their formation in the Lithuanian SSR has advanced considerably. Production associations now account for almost one-half of the industrial output. Their establishment contributed to a rise in the level of concentration and intensification of production specialization, improvement in production organization and a more efficient utilization of productive capital and manpower. In the republic there are many powerful production associations solving the problems of improvement in production efficiency at the proper level. However, the opportunities and potentials have not been exhausted at all.

Some Lithuanian associations are weak and are organized without the proper technical and economic substantiation and clear prospects for their development. Further work on improving the master plans for branch management will be needed. Unfortunately, when solving these problems, to this day it has not been possible to fully overcome the narrow departmental approach. The problem of redistribution of enterprises among ministries with due regard for specialization for the purpose of the most efficient utilization of economic and production relations and territorial distribution has not found a practical solution in the master plans. It is even difficult to cite an example of inclusion of enterprises of different subordination in the associations being established in the developed plans for the management of industrial branches. There were many sufficiently argued proposals in this direction. For example, it seems advisable to organize a scientific production association for the development and output of office equipment at the base of the Vilnius Scientific Research Institute of Electrography, the special design office equipment bureau in Vilnius and the Kaunas Experimental Automation Equipment Plant of the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems. To this day, however, this problem has remained unsolved.

In our opinion, the formation of associations that would include similar enterprises or production facilities, regardless of their departmental subordination, is necessary and promising. Such associations should be subordinated to the ministry or department in which a given item is specialized or final.

Problems of concentration of woodworking and timber sawing and the production of some building materials, reinforced concrete articles and other types of products, whose output is spread among many departments, are also urgent for our republic.

The possibilities for the further concentration of industrial production, consolidation of enterprises and establishment of powerful production and scientific production associations have by no means been exhausted. However, constructive proposals of scientific research organizations, more decisive actions of republic party and Soviet bodies and an interested attitude of Union ministries and departments are needed here.

Party and government decisions increase the responsibility of republics for the development and realization of major interbranch programs as one of the important elements of the content of overall territorial plans. Work on such general republic programs and their implementation is very complex and requires an efficient organization and concentration of the efforts of many ministries and departments, republic bodies, local soviets and scientific research institutions.

The republic's party organization lends an overall nature to the search for ways of increasing production efficiency, which intensifies the purposefulness of the measures taken. With due regard for the special importance of acceleration of the process of production intensification at the present stage an overall program for the intensification of industrial and building production in the Lithuanian SSR is developed in the republic. An overall search for and use of potentials and possibilities for ensuring stable rates of development of industrial and building production through an accelerated growth of labor productivity, an efficient distribution and utilization of labor and material resources and the most efficient technical and organizational improvement in production are the goals of the program. The overall program being prepared encompasses a wide range of technical-organizational and social problems affecting the end results of production. Specific measures aimed at raising the level of production intensification during the 11th Five-Year Plan are developed.

Specific work in this direction has already been done. Drafts of overall programs for intensification for the 11th Five-Year Plan have been developed according to a single methodology at every industrial enterprise and association and in all construction organizations, ministries and departments.

In the republic there is specific experience in the development and realization of overall programs. However, a program on such a scale is developed for the first time. Intensification programs lend a strict purposeful nature to the solution of the whole set of problems of intensification of industrial and building production and coordinate developments with the 11th Five-Year Plan. Thus, in addition to independent significance programs are very important preplan projects. We set ourselves the goal of having in the next few years overall intensification programs throughout the republic, as well as in ministries, departments, associations and enterprises, that is, preparing programs including fully specific measures in all links with an evaluation of their efficiency and final result. We hope that the appropriate Union ministries and departments will support the republic's initiative.

The attention of party and Soviet bodies is directed toward a search for ways of intensifying production, because in the localities it is possible to examine production more profoundly, to better see the existing problems and to concentrate efforts on the elimination of "bottlenecks" in production. The task of comprehensively examining the industrial development planned in a city or rayon and of fundamentally approaching the designs of associations and enterprises from the standpoint of statewide interests is set for party and Soviet bodies. Overall programs for the intensification of industrial production on a city or rayon scale can play an important part in this.

The development of such types of programs is new. Problems concerning the methodology of their preparation and organizational problems of implementation of overall programs have not yet been studied sufficiently.

The difficulties in the realization of the set of measures for production intensification are connected with overcoming the attempt by a number of ministries and departments, to the detriment of the technical retooling and modernization of enterprises, to attain an increase in capital investments for new construction with an enlistment of an additional number of workers. Under the conditions of a significant decline in the increase in labor resources, which, as is well known, exists in Lithuania, such a way is unacceptable. It can lead to serious difficulties in providing manpower for agricultural production and do damage to the overall development of the entire national economy.

Defining the most important scientific-technical and socioeconomic problems and concentrating forces and funds on their solution are indispensable conditions for raising the level of management of economic development at the present stage and for ensuring the necessary proportionality in the national economy. Problem orientation is becoming an ever more characteristic feature of the work of managerial personnel of all units. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality" created all the prerequisites necessary for a wide use of the program oriented method in the solution of major interbranch problems. Great significance is attached to these problems in the republic. The range of problems for whose solution it will be necessary to develop overall programs for the 11th Five-Year Plan and a more distant future has already been established and the basic organizational parameters of this complex work have been determined.

In particular, the development and realization of an overall program for improving socioeconomic living conditions in rural areas and retaining labor resources necessary for the further development of agricultural production are urgent for the Lithuanian SSR. It will also be necessary to prepare a program for the solution of another acute problem--reduction in manual labor in loading-unloading, transport and warehouse operations with a view to creating a single mechanized freight flow along the industry-transport-trade chain. Furthermore, the elaboration of a program for the development of a single transport system, increase in the efficiency of utilization of electric power and fuel in the national economy, improvement in the utilization and protection of water resources, reduction in the pollution of the air basin and so forth is envisaged.

A wide introduction of overall programs into planning and management should also contribute to a more efficient combination of branch and territorial interests. This, however, requires not only an active participation of republic management bodies, but also significant help on the part of Union branch ministries, especially in material and technical supply for overall programs for the problems in whose solution both the republic and branch are interested. The inclusion of sets of measures of the Union republics as subprograms in overall Union programs could be a means of better combining territorial and branch interests.

The use of the program oriented method in the practice of management is expanding. However, methodological problems concerning republic programs have hardly been reflected in the standard documents on the development of overall programs regulated by Union bodies, which hampers their use. Apparently, scientists who believe that the organizational forms of program management cannot be the same in all cases and that there is no need for their strict typification are right. However, information on advanced experience is certainly necessary. Meanwhile, the study, generalization and dissemination of the advanced experience of republics and the training of managers and specialists in the organization of the development of overall programs have not yet been organized properly. The USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology must pay considerable attention to these problems.

Improvement in the planning of social development in the republic is considered a mandatory condition for the attainment of high production efficiency and work quality. It is carried out everywhere. During this five-year plan almost all labor collectives in industry, construction, agriculture and transport, most enterprises and organizations in communication and municipal facilities, some ministries and a number of cities and rayons have developed and are implementing plans for social development. Such work was also begun in the organizations of the non-production sphere.

The Republic Coordinating Council for Socioeconomic Planning manages social planning in the republic. An overall program for the development of social planning until 1985 has been prepared and is being realized and basic scientific research organizations, which will engage in the preparation of methodological data on the elaboration of plans for social development, as well as basic enterprises and organizations, which will have to test the methodological recommendations in practice, have been approved. Serious attention is given to an improvement in the skills of personnel and dissemination of advanced experience in the area of social planning. In particular, a republic review of the elaboration and implementation of plans for the social development of collectives was held not long ago.

Thus, the Lithuanian SSR accumulated specific experience sufficient for the preparation during the 11th Five-Year Plan at all the levels of planning of consolidated sections for the entire set of measures in the area of social development in accordance with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on problems of improving planning and strengthening the influence of the economic mechanism on increasing production efficiency and work quality.

When working out consolidated sections of plans for social development, it is important to optimally coordinate territorial plans with the plans for labor collectives. As is well known, some social problems can be solved successfully on a labor collective scale and others on a city or rayon scale alone. However, there are no recommendations on such problems in the existing methodological data and literature on social planning and a creative search is needed here.

The success of the planning of social development depends to a great extent on the depth of knowledge of social phenomena. Enterprises, associations and ministries more and more acutely feel the need for sociological services or individual workers constantly engaged in the detection of the most acute social problems and ways of solving them. This requires skilled personnel. The party organization of the Lithuanian SSR does specific work on training them through improvement in skills. However, this is insufficient. The USSR Ministry of Higher Educational Institutions must search for opportunities to expand the training of sociologists of broad specialization.

We attach the same great importance to a significant improvement in the utilization of the republic's available scientific potential and to the strengthening of relations between science and production. In the last few years the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers have adopted a number of fundamental decisions aimed at increasing the efficiency of scientific research and an efficient utilization of scientific and technological achievements in the national economy. We consider the strengthening of the coordination of scientific research and developments and improvement in its forms some of the organizational forms of integration of science and production. The Republic Commission on Scientific ... Technical Progress--the coordinating body of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the republic's Council of Ministers on the fundamental problems of the further overall development of science and technology--was established in 1979.

The republic faces important tasks in the area of increase in production efficiency. To accomplish them we will continue to increase the role of science and to strive for more fruitful relations between scientific organizations and ministries, departments, associations and enterprises and for an intensified trend of scientific research toward the realization of the most important present and future problems. At the same time, plans are made to greatly increase the contribution of the scientific research and planning design organizations of Union subordination located on the territory of our republic, whose research trend as yet has by no means always met modern requirements properly, to this cause. In particular, in the planning of the work of such organizations there are cases of an inefficient and unsubstantiated territorial attachment of some developments.

This article touches only on some problems connected with ensuring further economic growth through intensive factors. It seems to us that a better solution of these problems would contribute to an increase in economic efficiency and to a fuller realization of party and government measures aimed at improving the entire mechanism of management.

The further development of the branches of material production and nonproduction sphere of the Lithuanian SSR is predetermined by the rising power and increasing opportunities of the USSR and the fundamental trends in the economic policy of the CPSU. The achievements of Soviet Lithuania are the results of the constant concern and all-around assistance of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, close cooperation and unity of all the nations of our country, persistent labor of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia and purposeful work of party, Soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations.

The new upsurge in the political and labor activity of production collectives and the general aspiration to attain high national economic end results are evidence of the unanimous approval by the workers of Soviet Lithuania of the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As L. I. Brezhnev stressed at a conference at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, "the task is to most efficiently utilize the patriotic enthusiasm of workers, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia, which we have in the country now on the eve of the 26th party congress."¹ Following this instruction, the republic's party bodies and primary party organizations will actively support all the undertakings aimed at a better utilization of internal reserves. We consider this our main task. In response to the decisions of the July and October (1980) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and L. I. Brezhnev's recommendations and instructions the party members and all workers of Soviet Lithuania are fully resolved to strive in the maximum possible way for an increase in the efficiency of public production and quality of all our work, to make an appropriate contribution to the accomplishment of the tasks resulting from the economic strategy of the party and to meet the 26th CPSU Congress with new achievements.

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1. PRAVDA, 29 August 1980.

REGIONAL

ACADEMICIANS URGE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIAN AGRICULTURE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Dec 80 pp 1-2

[Article by B. Boyev, director of the Siberian Scientific-Research Institute of Agricultural Economics and corresponding member of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and Yu. Novoselovo, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Siberian Department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and candidate of economic sciences, Novosibirsk: "A Systematic, Scientific Approach--To Intensively Develop the Food Base of Siberia"]

[Text] Never previously has Siberian industry developed so rapidly as in recent years. The 10th Five-Year Plan served as a powerful stimulus to the continued development of large regional production complexes and industrial centers. This year the country will get more than one half of its petroleum and one third of its gas from Siberia.

One can visualize a grandiose picture of the immediate future of this region on the basis of a document published by the party—the draft version of "Basic Directions of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Up to 1990."

The broad scale of industrial and transport construction is bringing a significant influx of the population to the new regions. In Tyumenkaya Oblast, for example, where an intensive development is taking place of the petroleum-gas and lumber industry, there has been almost a half-million increase of the population (23 percent). In Irkutskaya Oblast, the population grew 25 percent during this time.

The long years of experience in development of these regions shows that the successful development here of productive forces requires a cardinal solution of the question of provision of living conditions—first of all, sound nutrition. For this reason, the problem of establishment of a food base for Siberian and northern regional production complexes constitutes one of the most important and high-priority problems.

Unfortunately, it is still being solved badly, which unfortunately affects industrial production. In recent years, the volume of industrial production in Tyumenkaya Oblast has increased many times, but gross agricultural production has grown only 12 percent. For each percent of growth of industrial production in the oblast, there is only 0.03 percent of growth of agricultural production. The milk needs of the population of Khanty-Mansiyskiy AO are supplied only 20 percent from local

production, while potato and vegetable requirements are supplied locally only 13 percent. A similar situation exists in a number of other regions that are undergoing new industrial development.

Under the extreme conditions of the Siberian North, agriculture is being developed with difficulty. Lack of experience in carrying out agriculture and shortages of labor resources also have their effect. Consequently, the population residing here is supplied primarily through the importation of food products from regions that are frequently many thousands of kilometers away.

But while it may have been possible to accept this somehow formerly, the large-scale development of new territories does not allow for dependence on this. The food problem has to be solved radically and fundamentally. The creation of a food complex requires a systems approach. This means that it is necessary to take into account the development of the food base and expenditures on its formation at all stages of organization of large industrial enterprises in the Siberian North. And this must be done under the conditions of elaboration of a technical-economic basis. Such a procedure has to be done through directives. The fact is that here in the Siberian North there are no reserves with which to provide the population with food without extra capital investments. Outlays on the creation of a food base comprise quite an appreciable part of expenditures connected with development of the wealth of the North. Therefore a situation cannot be considered normal where the working set of plans dealing with the development of natural resources is carried out with careful consideration being given to the needs of industrial installations under construction with respect to equipment, electric power, water, manpower while questions of provision of food products for the growing population are kept outside the framework of the plans and estimates. We are convinced that the food base must be an obligatory composite part of all plans and the construction of agricultural installations has to be financed and provided with good material resources on the basis of a unified system and program of erection of industrial enterprises.

The orientation of a certain portion of managers cannot withstand criticism in regard to uncontrolled importation of food products to the North. Such an approach leads to frequent irregularities in supplying the population, large losses of produce, its reduced quality and nonproductive expenditures. Thus, for example, during the present five-year plan deliveries of potatoes come to the city of Surgut in Tyumen-skaya Oblast from Chuvashskaya ASSR and Omskaya and Tomskaya Oblasts. In this connection product losses have comprised 18-24 percent. Cabbage has been shipped to Bratsk and Ust'-Ilimsk from the Uzbek and Tajik Republics. Less than half of the total volume of procured products reaching the consumer was of standard quality. In 1979, the builders of the Western Section of the Baykal-Amur Mainline were supplied with potatoes from Krasnoyarskiy and Altayskiy Krays, Buryatskaya ASSR and Uzbek SSR and with meat products from the North Caucasus, Abakan, Buryatiya and Omskaya Oblast. Because of big distances and numerous transshipment points, tremendous losses of vegetables occur and costs of transporting products exceed their production costs.

Because of a lack of guaranteed transportation it is simply impossible to deliver to many regions of the North and the BAM such agricultural products as whole milk, eggs, vegetables produced on sheltered ground. There is absolutely no possibility of bringing in these products from the southern rayons of Chitinskaya Oblast to the future Udekanskiy industrial center. Milk can be supplied to the Baykal-Amur Mainline zone from Buryatskaya ASSR only by means of a difficult roundabout way through

Irkutskaya Oblast. It is unrealistic to speak of the question of bringing food products to the central part of the Baykal-Amur Mainline from Yakutiya, where surpluses will not be found for a long time because of the tempestuous development of industry. What then should the solution be?

As shown by the many years of experience of development of the country's northern regions, sections of land are to be found even in the most unfavorable soil and climatic conditions which could be used to one degree or another for agricultural purposes, including pasture maintenance of animals. Such lands are to be found most often among the floodlands of rivers and mountain hollows. Thus, for example, the construction zone of the Baykal-Amur Mainline includes among the available land almost one million hectares of which about 140,000 hectares could be put to use with relatively small outlays in the immediate years ahead. Of these, about 80,000 hectares are suitable for tillage. More than a million hectares of flood-land suitable for fodder production are to be found along the lower reaches of the Ob' River. In Yakutskaya ASSR, the floodlands of the Amga, Lena, Vilyuy and Olekma rivers have about 160,000 hectares that could be developed for cultivation. The reclamation land of the Nizhnyi Yenisey consists of more than 250,000 hectares, the main part of which is concentrated in Turukhanskiy Rayon. Land suitable for agricultural use also exists in other northern latitudes of Siberia and the Far East.

Expeditionary studies and stationary experiments conducted in the last five years have shown that it would be possible to produce on these lands 11-18 tons of potatoes, 13-15 tons of vegetables and 17-26 tons of green mass of annual grasses per hectare. The hothouse yield of potatoes per square meter is 28-32 kilograms. On the fields of the Kureyskiy Support Point of the Scientific-Research Institute of Agriculture of the Far North located on the latitude of the Arctic Circle, scientists are producing 200-250 quintals of potatoes per hectare, 300-400 quintals of cabbage. Of course, yield would be somewhat lower under production conditions. But the "fault" does not lie so much in the severe climate as in the different organizational and economic mix-ups.

The fact that it is possible to successfully develop agricultural production in the northern regions of Siberia and in the Baykal-Amur Zone is borne out by the operational experience of the sovkhozes, kolkhozes and auxiliary farms of enterprises created here. For example, Podymakhinskiy Sovkhoz of Ust'-Kutskiy Rayon in Irkutskaya Oblast achieved a significant growth in the productivity of cows. Iskra Kolkhoz of Kazachinsk-Lenskiy Rayon is successfully developing production.

The accumulated experience of complex economic development in the new regions of industrial development provides a basis for the conclusion: maintenance of the population's needs for food products should be carried out through organization of production of not particularly transportable and quickly perishable products in the immediate vicinity of their places of consumption, as well as through intensification of agriculture in contiguous regions with more favorable natural and economic conditions for the production of meat, dairy products, potatoes and fodder for animal husbandry. But vegetables, fruits, grapes and melon crops that favor heat should be brought in from the more distant regions of the country. Moreover, the importance of sources of production of food products for individual regions of new construction varies. Thus, for example, while the need for potatoes and vegetables produced on open ground, milk and even meat can be completely satisfied in the Eastern Section of the Baykal-Amur Mainline through the organization of production close

to the places of their consumption, in the area of the line abutting on South Yakutiya, where more than 200,000 people will be living in the near future, most food products will have to be brought in the foreseeable period from other, distant regions. Therefore it is necessary to consider not opposition but the rational combination of different variants of guaranteed maintenance of the population with needed food products involving minimum expenditures.

It would appear that it would be necessary to concentrate first and foremost in the immediate vicinity of industrial centers of the North the production of whole milk and sour-milk products, dietary eggs and vegetables grown on sheltered ground and in part potatoes and vegetables of local assortment grown on open ground. Rear bases ought to become basic suppliers of other products--food and forage grain, meat, butter, cheese, dry milk and partly potatoes and vegetables.

The selection of rational forms of organization of agricultural production is of fundamental importance. Analysis of accumulated experience and calculations make possible the assertion that it would be feasible under these severe conditions to establish agricultural enterprises varying in specialization and differing in administrative subordination. In the initial stages, it would be preferable to have subsidiary rural farms or shops attached to industrial enterprises.

In this regard, the experience of subsidiary farms in the northern part of Tyumen-skaya Oblast is of interest. Five such farms were established for the provision of food products to petroleum workers. In a short time there were built on them 18 cow barns and calfpens, 5 henhouses, 70,000 square meters of hothouses and a number of other structures for production, cultural and everyday use.

In 1980, these farms produced about 2,000 tons of vegetables, 10,000 tons of milk and 24 million eggs. Good results are also being obtained by the subsidiary farm attached to the Noril'sk Ore Mining and Smelting Combine located, as we know, above the Arctic Circle under permafrost conditions. Last year there were produced here 700 tons of pork, 3,500 tons of milk and about a thousand tons of hothouse vegetables.

Subsidiary-farm workers, both temporary and permanent, have the advantage of all the social amenities possessed by workers engaged in other branches of production.

It is important to point out here that subsidiary agricultural enterprises can make wide-scale use of communication, heat, power and other resources of industrial enterprises. This boosts the efficiency of production of food products.

In the Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR, it is emphasized that it is necessary to expand production of meat, milk, potatoes, vegetables and fruits on the subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations. This task can be solved in Siberia, in the Far East and in the northern regions. It is only necessary to think over carefully what assistance should be provided today as well as tomorrow. In the immediate years ahead it would be possible to greatly increase crop production by improving the structure of sowing areas. This would require the elaboration, approval and implementation of concrete measures relating to intensification of the sector at each farm. Such measures have been developed by the RSPSR Ministry of Agriculture for sovkhozes of the Baykal-Amur Mainline zone, but, unfortunately, their implementation is being held back. The preparation of concrete measures should involve in addition to planning and agricultural organs scientific

institutions of the Siberian Department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKhNIL], the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other agencies. It is essential to include in the complex groups soil scientists, land-tenure regulators, land-improvement specialists, livestock specialists and economists. In a word, those specialists should be included who would be able to prepare complex proposals in a qualified manner. This is how proposals were prepared in a short time for developing agriculture in the Barguzinskaya Basin of Buryatskaya ASSR.

Taking into account the weak knowledge of the regions of the Siberian North and their complex natural conditions, the great capital intensiveness of construction of facilities, it is necessary to elaborate and implement all measures on a strict scientific foundation, that is, all planning work must be preceded by exhaustive study, scientific expertise and active participation by scientists in the working out of proposals and decisions.

Unfortunately, one has the impression that certain operational personnel and planning organs, when turning to scientists, are only conforming to the mode, so as to be able to say should the need arise that "that is how the scientists advised." Scientists, however, prepare recommendations not for the purpose of being praised but for the purpose of jointly finding a correct solution. We have many examples where research carried out by order of operational organs and officially approved by directorate organs, has been slow in being introduced into production. Such was the case with proposals for the development of agriculture in Barguzinskaya Basin. In most of the regions of the Baykal-Amur Mainline zone, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the RSFSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources have for all practical purposes not begun the development of land, although proposals from the Siberian Department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and planning organizations (at The material-technical base of the farms of the Baykal-Amur Mainline Zone (Angarskiy, Zolotinka, Zarya sovkhozes and others) are being poorly strengthened. For many years, wide-scale introduction of film hothouses with two-layer covering, which have well proved themselves in Yakutiya, has been held back. The Ministry of Timber and Wood Processing Industry and industrial ministries, developing the mineral resources of the North, shoo off agrarian scientists and do not display the necessary interest in establishing and developing subsidiary farms in the Baykal-Amur Mainline zone. Scientific-research institutes often have great difficulty in "making headway" with their developments. This attests not only to stubbornness of the servitors of science but also to the conservativeness of certain departments. The documents published on the 26th CPSU Congress and the decisions of the October (1980) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee direct us to large-scale creative work and call us to make untiring searches, daring experiments and purposeful and effective work. This is demanded in particular by the problems of the food base of the new eastern and northern regions.

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